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**SELF-REPORTED REPERTOIRES AND OBSERVED  
LANGUAGE USE IN THE MULTILINGUAL ORO  
COMMUNITY.**

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Thesis submitted for the degree of PhD in Linguistics  
2018

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## Abstract

This study is a systematic account of the spoken repertoires reported by participants in a multilingual Oṛo community, Nigeria, and the actual language practices which members of the community engage in during their everyday discourse. The Oṛo community is a minority ethnic group whose social and linguistic behaviours have not been explored prior to this time. The research is undertaken by means of a variety of methods including ethnographic participant observation, with particular attention on relevant aspects of the Oṛo culture and social organisations. Moreover, information obtained from the observation approach is supplemented with data gathered through face-to-face language use in the form of formal and informal interviews and questionnaires. These methods provide a detailed demographic and ethnographic survey of language use of the community.

Three research questions were adopted for this study:

1. How do individuals in Oṛo community use a range of languages /repertoires in their daily interactions?
2. How are these languages/repertoires used in the different domains?
3. What role does language ideology play in making language choices in the community?

Data analysis reveals that members of the community use multiple languages to satisfy daily communicative needs. Younger generation between the age range of 49 and below speak more of NPE while the older members prefer the use of the regional languages. Parents prefer the choice of English and NPE with their children. Among the factors that fuel multilingualism in the community are migration and exogenous marriages coupled with the activities of missionaries. The sedentary people speak more of the regional languages than returnees and incomers, who speak more of NPE, English and Yoruba. Exogenous marriages increase multilingualism as most women acquire languages different from those of their husbands. Participants with higher education engage in more bilingualism with English and any of the regional languages. Generally, NPE seems to be the most widely used language in the community irrespective of one's academic attainment.

Language ideology in the community is also one factor responsible for the choices made by members of the community in interactions. Members in some cases choose a

particular code based on the way the society views it. Some codes are attached to prestige and economic advantage while some others are chosen to fulfil domain rights.

The thesis provides interesting new data on some external factors affecting a multilingual's language behaviour . It therefore contributes to our understanding not only of the Oꝛo community , but to the study of other languages like Efik and Ibibio considered in this thesis since there has not been (to my knowledge) any study of the sociolinguistic/language use of the languages before now. It is significant to the fields of sociolinguistics, multilingualism research and African linguistics.

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## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to God Almighty, who gave himself for my sins, that HE might deliver me from this present evil world, according to the will of God and my father.

*Galatians 1:4*

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This thesis is an investigation of the self-reported repertoires and observed language use in the multilingual Ọrọ community in the south-south geopolitical zone of Nigeria. It focuses on the way language is used in the community, based on what speakers of the language report they do. This report was supplemented with ethnographic participant observation, formal and informal interviews of members of the community for nine months. These methods generated detailed information on the participants, the community and the choices they make in interaction in their daily discourse.

At least six languages and five varieties are spoken in the community, namely Ọrọ, Efik, Ibibio, Anaang, Nigerian Pidgin and English. Some of these languages are related while others are distant. In addition to what we may call the 'standard Ọrọ', there are five varieties of Ọrọ which are less valued: Avai, Ebughu, Enwang, Uda and Okobo. They are very close to each other, but separated by their political and social status. Ebughu and Enwang, for instance, are spoken in just one village each. Scholars working on small multilingual environments refer to this as one language being equal to one village (Di Carlo, 2012) and (Lüpke, 2016).

Speakers of 'standard Ọrọ' regard speakers of other varieties as speaking an 'adulterated' form of the language. To them 'standard Ọrọ' carries more prestige. It has more speakers and is politically backed. As a result, speakers of other varieties, like Ebughu, Enwang and Uda, learn and speak standard Ọrọ. By doing so, they can claim membership of any of the Ọrọ speaking villages. A comparable case might be the use of the word "bassa nenge (e)" which Maroons use for non-Maroons (Migge & Léglise, 2012:195). "Bassa" refers to the "bastardised" or "improper" people of the Maroons.

My study has found that migration has fuelled multilingualism, but, even before the advent of migrants, the Ọrọ people and surrounding communities have not been strictly monolingual. From the introduction of the Christian religion in Nigeria, many communities have had to learn to speak another language beside the first language.

The situation increased when the missionaries provided translation of the Bible and the hymns into Efik. The other thing is the location of Orọ at the edge of the Atlantic Ocean. This has caused people to migrate from other communities to settle in Orọ and eventually become part of the community. Migration plays a central role in determining the linguistic repertoires of my participants. Most participants who lead a fairly settled life in the community are also multilingual, but say that they speak more of the regional languages than incomers and younger people. More male than female speakers, and older than younger inhabitants, have regional languages as their L1.

People with a higher level of formal education are more likely to be bilingual in English and a regional language than people without education. In some cases, what participants said about their languages and the way they use them was the very opposite of what they actually did. Some educated participants said they spoke more than one language to their children but it turned out that they mostly used English. The less educated ones sometimes said they speak the regional languages to their children but most of the time they spoke Nigerian Pidgin English (henceforth NPE). All data used in my thesis are natural language examples collected from the community during nine months of fieldwork.

In a community plagued, or blessed, by the availability of many languages, language choice becomes an issue. Multilingual communities, like those in which Orọ is the main language, are always faced with which language to choose from the many languages and repertoires available each time they engage in a conversation. An everyday conversation in the Orọ community is like moving up and down a scale of languages and repertoires depending on the speech event and the participants. In some other instances, they are being guided by the domain of use. Domain of use means the specific places where languages are used. For example: Orọ is used more at home. Efik is very common in mainstream churches, in health centres, and in Primary schools, English in most Pentecostal churches. Orọ, Yoruba and NPE are often used while fishing at sea.

Human communication requires selecting from the linguistic and stylistic repertoires available (Ihemere, 2007: 11). When communicating, people are constantly, consciously or unconsciously, favouring certain styles or norms and rejecting

others(Hoffmann, 1991; Spolsky, 1998). People use language not only to share their thoughts and feelings with other people, but they also exploit the "subtle" or not so "subtle" aspects of language to reveal and define their social relationships with the people they are talking to, with people who can overhear them, and even with people who are nowhere around (Fasold, 1984). Language thus can do much more than simply transmit statements, questions, commands or requests etc.

## **1.1 The Ọrọ People**

The word “Ọrọ” represents the people of the Ọrọ community as well as the language. The official name of the language and people is Ọrọn, an Anglicised version of the name created by the administrators of the then South-Eastern State, of which Ọrọ was a part. Ọrọ is one of the three major ethnic groups in the Akwa Ibom State, namely Ibibio, Anaang and Ọrọ. Ọrọ is said to have about 75,000 speakers (Lewis, Paul, Gary & Simons, 2016).The territory of Ọrọ comprises five Local Government Areas in Akwa Ibom State, namely Ọrọ, Okobo, Urueoffong/Oruko, Udung Uko and Mbo. Traditionally they occupy ten clans, namely Ibigi, Ukwong, Okiuso, Okpo, Ubodung, Ebughu, Efiat, Odu, Etta and Idua. These ten clans are composed of six sub-cultures, namely Ukpabang, Okobo, Ebughu, Enwang, Efiat-mbo and Idua.

### **1.1.1 The Geographical Location of the Ọrọ People**

The Ọrọ people consist of five local government areas (L.G.A) and occupy the coastal region of Akwa Ibom state in the south-south region of Nigeria . They have boundaries between the Ibibio on the east , Calabar in the south and Eket in the west . They are mostly found on the bank of the Atlantic Ocean which stretches from Uruan through Bakkasi Peninsula to Ibeno . The Ọrọ people also share a common boundary with the Cameroonians and Equatorial Guinea (Udo, 1983).

**Figure 1 Geographical map of Ọrọ**



### **1.1.2 Origin of the Ọrọ People**

The origin of the Ọrọ people is not very certain. Historians, scholars and community leaders have suggested Cameroon, the Mediterranean, Benin, Igbo and Ibibio ancestry (Akaduh, 1984; Uya 1984; Eyefoki 2004; Ekpo 2012). Many Ọrọ people, including the Ahta Ọrọ, Ofong Ati Okpo, believe that Cameroon is the most plausible place of origin (Personal conversation with the Ahta Ọrọ in 2013). An account which I consider more reliable is that given by (Noah, 1980) which traces the origin of the Ọrọ people alongside the other Ibibio groups to Usakedet in the Cameroons. In his account, the people migrated as kins known as ‘Afagha’ to their present location via different routes. While some of them travelled through the hinterland and settled in areas currently known as Ikono, Uyo, etc., others travelled through the seas and settled in the present Ọrọ, Eket and Calabar.

The accounts of migration given by different people are in agreement on some issues, but on a possible relationship between the Ọrọ and Ibibio, there seems to be a difference of opinion. Most scholars from the Ọrọ axis e.g. Uya (1984:17; Akaduh 1984), are of the views that although there are linguistic similarities between the Ibibio and the Ọrọ people, they are two separate ethnic groups with no possible relationship. The historians have given their views based on what oral history has

presented to them. In most cases, oral histories may not be very reliable. Hence, as a linguist, I have a different view from the historians based on data obtained from anthropological, sociological and linguistic surveys. There are so many similarities between the two languages that I think the existence of a link is very likely.

Perhaps in order to explain the possible similarities especially among lexical and semantic items, Uya (1984:17) observes that the "controversy has revolved around the attempt by the majority ethnic group in the region, the Ibibio, to impose a common or Pan-Ibibio identity on the smaller groups such as the Annang, the Eket, the Efik and the Oron". On the grounds of intelligibility and similarity in linguistic forms, Uya (1984:2) states that "linguistic affinity is inevitable among neighbours, while similarities of some traits as are found elsewhere around the world, can be a parallel development and not necessarily because of a common origin". Thus, Uya believes that the linguistic similarities with the Ibibio and other ethnic groups within the state do not result from a common origin but rather from a common boundary. Uya's argument has been criticised by some Ibibio people who think it is most likely that all the members of the Lower Cross group of languages migrated together from Jordan through Egypt and settled in Cameroon before proceeding to Igbo land (apart from verbal claims, this statement has not been confirmed). After several wars, the group migrated again and settled at Ikono in the present Ibibio land. To them, this is the only way to explain the close linguistic affinity between speakers of the Lower Cross languages, including Obolo. From the data available to this research I want to believe that a possible link exists between the languages.

### 1.1.3 Social Make Up of the Community

The social make-up of the Oꝛo community comprises of many ethnic groups, languages and cultures. As small as the community is, it is endowed with many natural resources. Its strategic location as a petroleum producing community and a fishing territory on the coast of the Atlantic Ocean and its economic contribution as a border community have drawn people from different ethnic groups and countries to settle in it. Apart from the Oꝛo people who happen to be the first settlers, there are other groups like the Ibibio, Efik, Anaang, Yoruba, Hausa and immigrants from other African countries, e.g. Cameroon, Equatorial Guinea, Ghana, Mali and Chad Republic. The initial population of the community was basically fishermen who pitched their huts on the top of the river banks. Their main concern was to fish on the vast coast of the Atlantic, dry the fish by smoking and paddle to the hinterland to market their products. The Yoruba migrants to the community specialise in hunting large sea animals like whales while the Ibibio and Anaangs concentrated on catching crayfish and other sea products like periwinkles, lobsters and crabs. Unlike the Yoruba women who also fish with their husbands, the other women in the community take care of the home, prepare the fish and smoke them. They also take part in duties like mending of the fishing nets and splitting of firewood for the smoking process.

Today, life in the community is changing as more and more people are migrating to the community in search of one business or the other. Whereas the fishermen used to import their fishing tools, today the sellers of the tools have moved to the community thereby making life easier for the inhabitants. Other businesses such as catering, hotel, nursery schools, etc. have sprung up in recent years in the community. Modernisation has not been left out as most Ghanaian fishermen make use of ships which can stay in the sea for two to three weeks and still preserve the fish from getting spoilt. This method of fishing results in large turnout of catch but they are also considered cheaper to buy as the fish are dead and frozen before they are brought to shore. The community refer to this method of fishing as *Sakrupe* 'Trolley fish'.

#### **1.1.4 Occupation**

The Oꝛo people are predominantly fishermen especially those occupying the riverine and fishing pot areas. Fishing is one occupation that flourishes in the area as a result of the vast ocean that runs across it. Apart from fishing, members of the community also engage in farming on the hinterland. Arising from the abundant natural resources, the Oꝛo people are committed and successful traders. Their items of trade include fish, crayfish, lobsters, periwinkles and other sea products. Their staple food is cassava and yams which they produce enough for local consumption. The presence of the Atlantic Ocean nourishes the farmland causing farmers in the community to plant their crops earlier between the months of October and December. The Ibibio and Ekið neighbours of the Oꝛo community who live farther away from the Ocean do not plant as early as they wait for the first rainfall in the year to wet the ground before tilling. However, farmers in the Oꝛo community have the permission to harvest their crops early as well or they risk losing the crops to flood which also sets in with the rains from the months of May and June.

#### **1.1.5 Language Classification**

Oꝛo belongs to the linguistically diverse group of languages spoken in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. It has been classified as an offshoot of the Niger-Congo family that branches off to the New Benue Congo that finally gives birth to the Lower Cross languages. The name ‘‘Lower Cross’’ is suspected to have come from the Lower basin of the Cross River estuary. Oꝛo is the third ethnic group and language spoken in Akwa Ibom state after Ibibio and Anaang. It has at least four recognised and politically demarcated varieties that are not just mutually intelligible, but have no lexical or semantic difference except for Okobo (Connell, 1995). These varieties are Uda, Enwang, Ebughu, Efiat and Okobo, with Efiat (Avai) having just two speakers alive, while the rest of the people, the majority of whom are young, speak Efið due to language shift. Oꝛo is spoken alongside Ibibio, Efið and Anaang, with Ibibio being the language of the state used in the media, schools and hospitals. The Oꝛo language has a unidirectional intelligibility with the other languages of the Lower Cross. Nehusi (2015) argues that mutual intelligibility is affected by factors such as social and power relations. For instance, in an example cited by Muhlhausler (2010:361), understanding Danish implies understanding Norwegian and not vice versa. Speakers of Oꝛo both understand and speak Ibibio, Efið and sometimes Anaang, but the others

neither understand nor are they able to speak Ọrọ. This falls in line with Wolff (1959), who demonstrates that prestigious varieties are often more intelligible than the less prestigious ones.



Figure 2 Geographical Location of LWCL (Connell, 1994)

#### 1.1.6. Social Institutions

People are not elected to their traditional roles by the ballot but are appointed in turns. This is how it works at family (Efak) level. If family A provided a leader in 2015 and that leader dies, his successor will be appointed from family B, then from C, and so on, until each family has provided a leader. The same goes for the higher offices, for clan heads and paramount rulers.

There are some mysteries surrounding the office of the "Ahta Ọrọ ". When an Ahta dies, his successor must be a qualified paramount ruler. Before being proclaimed as the next Ahta, the paramount ruler elect should be put through certain tests. One of these is that he sits on an ancient stool of "Ahta Ayara" (the first ever Ahta Ọrọ) in the ancestral hut of "Obio Ufere" located in Eweme in the Ọrọ community. According to the HRH Ovong Edet Isemin (personal communication of 12 December 2013), the stool carries some ancestral powers which screen any appointed would-be Ahta Ọrọ. Anyone considered for the post of an Ahta must never have committed a murder. If he has, then, however secret his deed may have been, he will die instantly when he

sits on that stool. This is just one of the necessary rites and tests, and not all can be disclosed to a woman.

The Oꝛo community uses traditional social methods to preserve peace and unity. Even though there are modern Nigerian government institutions, like the police, it is still the community which maintains law and order. The policemen do not usually arrest anyone without the consent of the village chief. They thus honour the traditional dignitaries and show their respect for them. The village chief has his own ways of taking care of problems before they are referred to external bodies, like the government forces. Among the community institutions are the youth club (Nka Mkpawawa), the women's association (Iban Isong), the church, the Ekpo society, Ekpe and Anwangaidid. Ekpo, Ekpe and Anwangaidid are regarded as secret societies. The youth club has a vigilante group which is responsible for ensuring safety in the community. Membership is voluntary and open to young men from 18 to 35. They patrol the community at night, set up roadblocks to stop and search motorists, detain people suspected of a crime and hand them over to the chief in the morning. The youth group also ensures that the community roads, streams and markets are kept clean. In Eweme village, the youth club has set aside Saturday mornings for the environment. On that day, young unmarried people have to turn out to do community work. Sometimes this goes on till noon. When the work is done, a register is marked and absentees are visited in their houses. If the absentee is sick and has sent apologies, s/he is forgiven, but if not, the group will take from the absentee's house any item up to a certain value. The owner can redeem the item by paying a stipulated amount.

After the youth group comes the group for men aged between approximately 40 and 50. The major task of these middle aged men is to generate revenue for the community. They do this, for example, through consultations with companies that are drilling for crude oil off the coast of Oꝛo, fishing companies and road contractors. Through their contacts with these companies they help youngsters from the community to find jobs. Another source of revenue for the community is leasing communally owned palm oil trees (*Elaeis guineensis*) to women for, say, three years. The women hire men to harvest the oil-rich fruit and process it. In this way, the community finances the building of secondary schools and buying equipment for

school laboratories before applying to the state government to take over. The community can thus provide certain amenities that the government is not (yet) able to provide.

There is not only the group for men but also a group for women, known locally as *Iban Isong* “women of the land”. Their members are married women, widows and elderly women. Their task is to teach young women how to take care of their husbands, children and how to cope with the many challenges of marital life, especially with their in-laws, the extended family of their husbands. The other task of this group is to protect women against being verbally abused by men. If a husband, or any man, abuses a woman and the woman reports it to this group, the offender is summoned to state his side of the story and, if found guilty, he is charged a huge amount of money which he has to pay to the abused woman. This applies specifically to verbal abuse, which is very common in this community. Physical abuse is handled by the extended family. If the abuser and the victim belong to different families, the village head deals with it.

Another important group are the churches. In the Oꝛo community religion plays a great role in moulding the lives of people . The majority of people in the Oꝛo community call themselves "Christians". Some worship on Sundays, and others stay at home, but they all describe themselves as Christians. The Oꝛo community has churches of many shades and colours, ranging from (in alphabetical order) Anglican, Apostolic, Lutheran, Pentecostal, Roman Catholic, etc. etc. Elsewhere in this chapter I call these "mainstream churches". There are also many smaller and more local denominations. Most of these churches have their worship on Sundays, apart from the Seventh Day Adventist Church, which worships on Saturdays, in literal conformity with the Sabbath (Seventh Day) prescribed in the Bible. The various churches see it as their principal duty to preach "good and evil" pointing out how people should relate to one another to be acceptable to God. Pastor Benjamin of the Mount Zion Church in Udesi says (personal communication) that children who attend church regularly tend to behave much better than children who do not belong to a church.

Last, but not least, we must mention the family. It is an institution charged with such responsibilities as producing and nurturing children, transmitting to them moral

values and responsibilities, which they learn largely by just watching their elders. In the Orọ community most traditions are handed down orally. The child hears many stories about beliefs, taboos, and other relevant information which he/she will find important, and which will influence the decisions the child will make later in life. Most importantly, it is the families which make their children grow up as multilinguals through their particular circumstances of mixed parentage, playgroup, church and school. In the family, the child acquires a person's "cultural capital" (including linguistic capital, namely the languages he may be able to put to use when the occasion arises).

### **1.1.7 Education**

Most villages in the Orọ community have at least one primary school. Sometimes they also have a secondary school. Pupils in villages that do not have a primary school and a junior secondary/high school can go to the nearest village to attend classes. Some remote villages, like Isa Okiuso, Udung Ulo, Udung Amkpe, Udung Osidiong, Akanjo, etc, where there are neither primary nor secondary schools, have children walking a long distance to attend schools in the nearest village or dropping out of school because of the distance. Parents who can afford it give their children a bicycle to enable them to attend school, but children of parents who cannot do this will be drafted into farming or fishing even though education at this low level is free. This is one of the reasons why there are still many young people who cannot read and write even in our digital age (see (National Population Commission (Nigeria) & ICF International, 2014)). There are well over 20 secondary schools spread across Orọ. They are much more concentrated in the urban than in villages. Secondary schools in villages are not only few and far between but the few that exist tend to be short of specialist teachers in most subjects.

The teacher shortage in secondary schools in villages is caused by the fact that most educated people, and hence potential teachers, live in towns and cities. Recruitment is done at the state level, i.e. from the state capital. The teachers recruited are not from the communities in which they will have to work and are not familiar with the lifestyle in the villages. Once appointed, however, these teachers neither want to commute to the villages to which they have been assigned nor do they want to live there. Travelling is difficult because of the distances, of inadequate public transport

(buses) and bad roads, especially during the rainy season. Living in the villages is not attractive to them because of primitive living conditions, e.g. irregular power supply, bad access to the Internet, etc. As a result, teachers often do not turn up for their jobs, unless there is a rumour that an inspection is imminent.

The problem is not only a teacher shortage, but the working conditions in schools in Oꝛo villages, for students and teachers alike, are also pathetic. Roofs are sometimes leaking, walls collapsing; children are exposed to intense wind and are distracted by passing vehicles. In very many cases, they have to sit on the floor because there are no benches. Oꝛo is inhabited by people living in villages and in small towns (known as "tangsip"). There are more teachers in the urban Oꝛo than in the villages. In the villages, there is often decidedly a teacher shortage. As a result, the children in the towns tend to do better educationally than those living in the villages.

In September 2008, the governor of Akwa Ibom state carried out an education reform, to solve the prevailing problems. He made education at primary and secondary level compulsory. Fees for school attendance and charges for books and writing materials were abolished. However, his laudable intentions could not be realised. People who were meant to implement the reforms, e.g. in the Ministry of Education, and other stakeholders could not give appropriate account of the funds and supplies meant for school projects. This left the students with no confidence, no teaching and study materials and no support. The few committed teachers were not receiving regular salaries. These are some of the reasons why in the Akwa Ibom enclave there are still children who cannot read and write.

The language used for most activities in primary schools is Ibibio. It is not only the official state language, but also the language spoken by most people in the state. Ibibio has replaced Efik, which until the late 1990s was used in institutions like schools, health centres and mainstream churches. With the development of the Ibibio orthography by the Akwa Esop Imaisong Ibibio spearheaded by Professor Essien in 1990. Teaching materials were developed in the approved Ibibio language for both primary and secondary schools (Essien, 1990). Primers were developed and storybooks for younger children were made available. More texts and programmes in

Ibibio appeared in the media. News and adverts were now rendered in Ibibio. Other ethnic groups, like Anaang, Ọrọ, Obolo and Itu Mbonuso viewed these developments with mixed feelings since they felt they were being marginalised by the government.

## **1.2 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

This thesis is only concerned with the systematic description of the reported repertoires and the way members of the Ọrọ community make use of their numerous languages in their daily interactions. Although the research shall attempt, to some extent, some descriptions of code-switching and the implications to language use, it is by no means the central point of consideration in the thesis . The analysis is based on naturally occurring data of the Ọrọ community as well as the two hundred questionnaires administered to the members of the community. The reports of findings are all restricted to the data obtained by me during nine months' fieldwork which spanned from July 2013 through March 2014. The report contains what I observed and recorded using digital video and audio recorders as well as ethnographic questionnaires in the course of my stay in two villages of the community. The overall goal of the thesis is a description of the way and manner in which the members of the Ọrọ community use language in social context. The thesis does not intend to describe sounds or attempt grammatical analysis of the languages spoken in the community.

## **1.3 Statement of the Problem**

Although some research works have been done in the area of multilingualism in Nigeria, most of these works centre on large scale multilingualism (Adegbija 2004). Another relevant work was done by Ihemere (2006) on the use of Nigerian Pidgin. Some of these studies were conducted based on a questionnaire which used English as a medium of communication. There is a chance that most participants may have responded without actually understanding the questions. Although the studies mentioned above and others are very relevant to the current research, yet one would see that there is a huge gap in understanding how small communities like Ọrọ operate given its many repertoires. The present work does not only address issues on small scale multilingualism, but also focuses on language use in a small community. Although the analysis also makes use of data from questionnaires, it corroborated it with participant observation and interviews. In this way, it unmask how members of

the Q̣ṛ community manipulate their array of languages and repertoires in interaction on a daily basis.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

Three research questions guided the study:

1. How do individuals in Q̣ṛ community use a range of languages /repertoires in their daily interactions?
2. How are these languages/repertoires used in the different domains?
3. What role does language ideology play in making language choices in the community?

#### **1.5 Previous Research on Q̣ṛ**

Until recently, the Q̣ṛ language was not a focus of academic research. In literature Q̣ṛ was first mentioned by a Methodist missionary, Reverend W. J. Ward in (1913). In this book, Ward describes the life, culture, aspects of history of the communities in which he lived and worked. He was more concerned with describing the physical structures, primitive ways of living and the survival strategies of the Q̣ṛ community. These include their style of building houses, usually mud houses, their fishing occupation, physical appearance and the topography of the community (Ward 1913:8-10; 71). After Ward's account there was a long silence until 1956 when Simmons wrote the first ever linguistic analysis in Q̣ṛ verb morphology, a paper which also included a brief sketch of the language's phonology. In addition to the verb morphology analysis, he identified twenty-one phonemic sounds in Q̣ṛ with seven oral vowels and fourteen phonemic consonants. Simmons describes the phonemes /k kp f s/ in Q̣ṛ as possessing voiced allophones occurring in free variation with their voiceless counterparts. He however notes that the plosive phoneme /b/ has two allophones [b] and [p]. The allophone [b] can only occur initially and intervocalically, whereas [p] as a sound occurs word finally. He went further by claiming that Q̣ṛ has nine tones viz. high, low, mid, and each combination thereof. The interesting thing here is he identified a mid-tone in Q̣ṛ which even the native speakers find difficult to admit it exists.

On the claim of the voiced bilabial plosive /b/ possessing two allophones of /b/ and /p/ according to Simmons (1956), I think that Simmons would have mentioned that

the /p/ is not realised even though it occurs only in word final positions. Apart from that, most consonant sounds which occur at word final positions in the language are not realised. The only setback in this work is that Simmons spoke through an interpreter who was not a native speaker of Ọrọ but had traded with the Ọrọ people. This therefore led to some misleading interpretation of the data, either because the interpreter did not understand Simmons well or the Ọrọ native speaker did not understand the interpreter. Apart from that, this short fourteen-page work is important as the first linguistic account of the language. Although the work of Simmons was ground breaking in the study of the Ọrọ language, there was no follow up as the next academic work on Ọrọ appeared in a PhD thesis in 1978 by Kuperus. While researching consonant inventories of the Lower Cross languages, Connell (1991) in a Journal article mentioned Ọrọ and all its varieties.<sup>1</sup>

Of particular note is the work of Akaduh who in 1984 published a book titled *Nsini Oro*. The book was an introduction to the use of Ọrọ words in written form. Akaduh in this book attempted a great many things ranging from a history of Ọrọ to a description of social institutions, cultural practices, proverbs, songs, some word formation examples and a few sentences. This small book dealt with nearly everything relating to the ways of the Ọrọ community. He provided for word formation processes and how affixes are used in the language. He was the first known person to propose orthography of the Ọrọ language. But being a non-linguist, Akaduh did not specify word boundaries, morphemes, phonotactics and other relevant descriptions in morphological processes. However, although Akaduh was not a linguist, his contribution to the Ọrọ language is remarkable.

Uya (1984) also published a work on the History of Oro people. The major contribution of this book was the claim that Ọrọ migrated to their present location from Cameroon, a position disputed by other scholars, notable among them Essien (1990, 2003), Udo (1987) and Urua (2000). All these scholars, in tracing the history of migration of the Lower Cross language speakers, have always claimed that Ọrọ is a part of Ibibio and migrated with the Ibibio from Igbo. Uya's book may be regarded

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1. I am aware of a PhD work by Kuperus, Juliana. 1978. *Esquisse du système verbal de l'oro du Nigeria*. Paris: Paris-5. It is written in French and I do not read French.

as a response to refute this claim and portray Ọrọ and the Ọrọ people as a separate entity distinct from Ibibio in all aspects-culture, language, geographical location, and so on (Uya, 1984). The position of this research on this claim stands as is stated in 1.1.2 above that every available data to this research confirms a link between Ọrọ and Ibibio.

Following from here, Urua makes some generalisations on the tonal pattern of all varieties spoken in the Lower Cross. She notes two basic tones as the high and low tones. Others like the rising and falling, falling rising, are modifications of the first two, Urua (1996, 2000, and 2007). Essien's 'The grammar of the Ibibio language' (1990: ix) only mentions Ọrọ in passing while trying to justify his hypothesis of all the Lower Cross languages being given an umbrella name 'Ibiboid'. Essien claims that other smaller groups in Akwa Ibom State such as Ọrọ, Okobo and Anaang speak variants of Ibibio, but deny being Ibibio. He also asserts that the Lower Niger languages are referred to as 'Igboid' and therefore sees nothing wrong in referring to Lower Cross languages as 'Ibiboid'. This position was later supported by Urua (2000), but rejected by Udoh (2003:27), who also proposes 'Ibom' languages rather than 'Ibiboid' which is threatening to other languages in the group. My sympathy lies with Udoh in support of 'Ibom' languages. This term seems to capture all the languages in the Lower Cross to a greater extent than Essien's 'Ibiboid' which could easily cause controversy among various ethnic groups.

Another work on Ọrọ includes Urua, Ekpenyong, & Gibbon, nd) and Ekpo (2012). These works are basically sociolinguistic profile of the culture, custom, traditions and oratory in Ọrọ. The work of Ekpo also serves as a guide to researchers who may be interested in working in the community. This work provided for a geographical information structure (GIS) of the community pointing out important places like hospitals, schools, markets and other useful places. There are also attempts at systematising the phonology of Ọrọ language which act as a guide to the sound system of the language. In summary, the work recognises fifteen distinct consonant sounds which are capable of contrasting meaning difference and seven phonemic vowels.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>I am aware of unpublished work by some undergraduates and a few graduate students at the University of Uyo, Nigeria, but which are not available to this study. I have also been informed that a

A summary of the above analysis of sounds in Ọrọ is presented in table 1 below.

<b>Table 1</b>	<b>Sound Inventory in Ọrọ</b>	
Sound Inventories	Consonants	Vowels
Simmons	b t d k kp m n ɲ f s h w j l	a e ε i o ɔ u
Connell	b t d k kp f s m n ɲ l j w	i e ε a o ɔ u
Ekpo	b t d g k kp m n ɲ ɲ f s l j w	i e ε a o ɔ u

In summary, the existing literatures on Ọrọ have contributed to the understanding of the Ọrọ people, their history of migration and language affiliations. But it is also striking that none of these works explains the ways in which this community uses its numerous languages and repertoires. This is especially critical considering the many language problems existing in Nigeria which has resulted in lack of an indigenous national language. Without the understanding of the linguistic behaviour of the community members, it might be difficult to understand their ideology let alone their identity manifestation. This is the crucial point that this thesis seeks to investigate and by so doing make vital contributions regarding the ways people in the Ọrọ community manage their daily interactions making use of their array of languages.

### **1.6 Positioning the Thesis**

In section 1.2 above, I identified the problem which has warranted this research to be carried out. Although some works have been done on Ọrọ as we have seen in the above review, there is none which has been carried out in the area of sociolinguistic or language use. Another problem is lack of research work on small scale multilingualism, especially in the region covered by this thesis. Nigeria being a vital multilingual country and without a functionally approved indigenous language, the study of these small languages and repertoires in the Ọrọ community is of immense value as it provides data to the government towards language planning. Therefore, to achieve this aim, the study adopted three basic steps of data collection from the community. The researcher lived in the community for nine months and participated in the events from where the data were collected. The methods adopted were

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group of women have been working on translation of the New Testament Bible from English to Ọrọ, but faced by challenges on translation, the work was eventually abandoned.

ethnographic participant observation, interviewer-administered questionnaire, formal and non-formal interviews. Since the aim is to look at language use in the community, most of the data collected were live recordings of naturally occurring speech. The events were not acted, but purely spontaneous natural events which occur in the community on a daily basis.

The reasons for adopting these methods were simply to gather as much natural information as it was possible concerning the community. Although equipment like video and audio recorders were used, they did not hinder the natural nature of the data. This was further facilitated by the fact that the researcher is also a community member. Using the method adopted by Labov (1982), it was easy to minimise the influence of observers' paradox which helped in making the events as natural as possible.

### **1.6.1 Issues Investigated**

The thesis sets out to investigate language use in the Q̄r̄ community and the way the members of the community interact on daily basis using the array of their multilingual language resources. Two hundred participants took part in the survey study which complimented ethnographic participant observation. The researcher being a community member also became an active participant observer in the speech events which were recorded on video and audio. Naturally occurring data were obtained from five domains of home, religion, education, health centres and leisure. Data collected from the home domain came from informal gatherings around houses, casual talk under tree shade (due to the intense weather), during meal preparation and during family prayers. I recorded more data from the home domain because this domain is very significant to this community. Apart from being significant, it was the only domain where I was always present given the fact that I stayed in the same house with some of the participants I studied.

The data gathered reveal that members of the Q̄r̄ community acquire a sort of a smooth transition between languages within their repertoire. That means they do not code-switch largely as a result of lack of lexical or syntactic availability of items in their languages. This, to me is prove of the fact that Q̄r̄ has a skilled and stable multilingualism. Contrary to the beliefs of the community members that the Q̄r̄

language was spoken as a home language only, the data proved that Ọrọ, just like other languages were present in all the domains investigated. In many conversations, the community members make use of different codes to suit different purposes. Although community members often say they make use of a particular language in certain speech environment, the truth remains that some of these claims are merely ideological as this study proves that even in the traditional religious events, languages are mixed. This is against the claim of the community as they seem to suggest the traditional domain as being sacrosanct with only the use of languages of the “ancestors”. Unveiling such truth regarding language use in the community could lead to resolving a historical myth that the Ọrọ language was being threatened by the presence of other languages and therefore could lead to language death.

It was interesting to investigate information such as languages used between spouse(s), children, siblings, friends and older relatives. The research also looked at migration trajectories of the participants with the aim to unveil the causes of their many repertoires. Some of the participants had travelled to places outside their community; a lot of them got married to spouses whose languages are different from theirs. Children who grow up in such houses acquire at least two or more languages before they are of school age. Often, an intermediate language is adopted by some spouses who do not share a common language. In most cases, this intermediate language is usually NPE which is understood and used by most Nigerians, Ghanaians, Sierralonians, Cameroonians, etc. Another thing the research investigated was the language ideology of the speakers on the various languages they speak. Some questions for example “among the languages you speak, which one do you think should be developed and why do you think so” proved invaluable in understanding the attitude of the community members towards their languages. Another point investigated was to address one of the research questions which sort to understand if the many languages used by community members had a positive or negative influence on the development of the community.

### **1.6.2 Methods of the Investigation**

The research adopted multiple methods for investigation and they include:

- a). Ethnographic participant observation which made use of video and audio recorders.
- b). Interviewer-administered questionnaire
- c). Formal and informal interviews

a) The ethnographic data collected for this thesis were carried out with the help of video and audio recorders. These data were in most cases, data which occurred naturally. By this I mean the kinds of data that were not influenced by the observer or staged. These forms of data are very useful to the analysis of the language behaviour of the community. Thirty one video/audio files were recorded and five of these were selected and annotated on Elan. These are the files where the examples of language use are taken from and presented for analysis in the thesis.

b) Two hundred participants were interviewed using the questionnaires, while ten of these participants were also selected for daily observation in different domains and speech events within the community. Their responses were either corroborated by the participant observation or contradicted.

c) Formal interviews were carried out in schools, health centres and in other events which I needed clarifications, but they were recorded on audio and videos. Informal interviews were also carried out to gain insights into language ideologies and practices in various contexts. They were not formally structured and arose spontaneously. Participants at the informal interviews were at ease because recording devices were not involved.

### **1.6.3 Quantity of Data Recorded, Transcribed and Analysed**

At the end of the nine-month fieldwork in the community, the following data had been collected.

1. Two hundred interviewer-administered questionnaires which were completed by the researcher
2. Thirty- one audio and/or video files of naturally occurring language data
3. Two Sixty-leaf exercise books of field note.

Out of the recorded data, five video/audio files which contain naturally occurring interactions from the members of the community were selected and annotated on

Elan. This selection was based on their clarity in pictures and audible in audio. Some of the files were not very clear on audio and the videos had some motionless segments. These were not used in the analysis. Each file was transcribed and annotated for twenty minutes on five-tier stating the speaker tier, speech tier, language code tier, free translation and comments with speech being the parent tier. The parameter for the transcription is the sentence break. Apart from the five interactions which were selected and transcribed, examples used in the data analysis were selected from the remaining data base. Let me point out that the data files selected for the annotation and subsequent analysis were based on clarity of pictures and audibility of the sound. The combination of these methods of investigation yielded naturally observed data of language use in the Orɔ community which guided the analysis.

#### **1.6.4 Kinds of Observational Data Obtained During Fieldwork**

As an ethnographer and a participant observer, I took part in many events in the community from where many of the natural interactions were recorded. But most events in their respective domains were given prominence by the community members and these also took most of my focus. The following are some of the events I observed.

1. The Home: in the home domain data were gathered from family interactions which manifested in several ways. Majority of my data came from the home domain either through naturally occurring interactions or through informal interviews. Some of the recordings contain data recorded during meal preparations, visits of family members or friends, family meetings, family story times, jokes and casual talks, birthday parties, child dedication, etc.

2. Education: in the domain of education, my interest was to observe the languages being taught to students and pupils in the secondary as well as the primary schools in the community. This was based on certain information I gathered from the community on the choice of languages to be taught in schools within the community by the government. My interest was to be an observer but the principal of the school pleaded with me to take up the role of an English teacher to the examination classes of JS3 and SS3 respectively. After I had assumed my new role for two weeks, the school principal appealed to me to also teach the remaining classes Literature and English. Although it was tasking, yet it was a window through which I could both

observe and also report on the languages used there. Aside from the school I taught, I also visited other schools within the community to gather more data and insight into the community.

3. Health Centres: I also visited two health centres in the community to understand how members of the community interact with nurses and sometimes doctors who are not from the community. I did not make any video recording from the health centres visited as it would have made the participants nervous thereby influencing their acts. But all the data gathered were written on my field note exercise book. I was able to write down two instances of patient – nurse interactions in the health centres.

4. Six Youth social gatherings: I attended six youth meetings which took place in different villages of Eweme, Udung Uko, Avi, Ibaka and Nsie. Apart from the six meetings I attended, I also witnessed youth community sanitation which took place every Saturday of the month. I made three video recordings of the way the youths interact during the weekly exercise, and in different meetings and organisations. Within each village there are different youth organisations and people are allowed to belong to anyone they chose to. Although these organisations operate with different names, their aims and objectives are almost similar. They aim to challenge youths to be focused and have a positive influence on other youths in the other villages. It was a sort of competition among youths across the villages to present cases where members of a particular group succeed in business or do something spectacular. The success of the group is often composed into folksongs and played in different settings in the community.

5. Twelve Church services: I attended twelve church services from 5 villages in the community aside from attending my own church denomination every Sunday. With permission from the pastors and other stakeholders, I made six video recordings of a thanksgiving service, child dedication, sermons and testimonies.

6. Three Traditional chieftaincy coronations: I attended and recorded three chieftaincy coronations from three different villages in the community. Data gathered included oath of office administered to the persons being sworn in, traditional citation of their Curriculum Vitae, pouring of libation and traditional displays.

7. Three Funeral Services: I also attended three funeral services in the community. Funerals in this community are usually conducted by different church denominations of the late member. Where the deceased did not belong to any

particular church denomination, the family members will organize a freelance pastor to preside over the funeral. All three funerals were recorded on video and stored in the database of the Ọrọ community.

### **1.6.5 Main Findings**

The research discovered that although the English language has been in use as the official language in Nigeria, majority of Nigerians do not use it. This is not far from the fact that English as a language is associated with education. Even the reputedly educated people do not use English in the right perspective. This has resulted in the adoption of Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) as a common indigenous language which unites the people much more than English which is school-learned. Most of the respondents admitted feeling free with NPE much more than English because it is easier to be understood by people of all classes of life. It does not depend on education to use NPE and there is no fear of breaking the grammatical rules as the case is with English. Despite the many praises of NPE, some parents who are well educated are sceptical about speaking the language to their children. This was the only reported negative attitude the research recorded against NPE. However, domain analysis showed some important gatherings, e.g. churches use NPE as a means of reaching many worshippers. Many youths and young people in the community prefer to carry out their daily businesses in NPE, but in most cases would greet their older relatives in the regional languages.

The other regional languages such as Ọrọ, Efik and Ibibio gain momentum in the community in the home, markets, farms, and traditional ceremonies. Contrary to reports that Ọrọ was threatened by the presence of other languages, the research discovered that Ọrọ is instead strengthened by the presence of other languages in the community. Whereas most people reported that Ọrọ was a home language on the questionnaire, the participant observation revealed that Ọrọ is used in other domains like the traditional religion, western religion, home and business. Migrants to the community rather prefer learning Ọrọ to other languages in the community thereby making Ọrọ progress and in a positive light.

## **1.7 Transcription System**

The characters used in the transcription of the regional languages like Ibibio, Anaang and Efik in this thesis are the IPA characters. The IPA is a set of symbols devised by the International Phonetic Association which provides a system to transcribe all the sounds of the world's languages. The Ọrọ language does not have an approved orthography at the moment, but the symbols are written based on the Ibibio and Efik orthographies as contained in Urua (2000) and Akaduh (1984:1-6). Diacritic symbols are used in the thesis to represent sounds orthographically e.g. the back vowel sound [ɔ] as in the case of Ọrọ and [ṅ] used to represent the voiced velar nasal sound [ŋ]. Nigerian Pidgin English is written based on the system used by Elugbe and Omamor (1991:116-7), Faraclas (1996) and Okonkwo et al.'s (2007) *Mek Wi Rid Naijiria Pijin*. The English language uses sounds from the IPA.

## **1.8 Organisation of the Thesis**

The thesis is organized into eight chapters with chapter one being the general introduction to the Ọrọ people of the south – south geopolitical zone of Nigeria. In this chapter, we are introduced to the linguistic practices of the community members, their way of life, migration history and life in the community. In it we also see the previous research on the language, statement of the problem which led to the current research and the three research questions. Chapter two is a general appraisal of the multilingual nature of Nigeria and the peculiar circumstances that led to its multiple languages. It also describes the languages that are present in the Ọrọ community. The chapter also takes a look at how some of these languages function in their respective domains in the community. Chapter three is an attempt at defining the terms as applied to the study as well as a review of related works. Some works related to Africa and in particular West Africa have been reviewed stating their relevance to the present study. In chapter four the methods through which the data for this thesis were collected are discussed. Attention is paid particularly on how the researcher entered the community, her decision to stay in the two villages, sample selection and recording of naturally occurring interactions. Chapter five on the other hand, is the presentation, collation and discussion of the reported language use by two hundred participants. Chapter six is the presentation and analysis of data obtained through ethnographic study of the community. It tries to link what was observed to what was reported by participants and find a meeting point or where they are different. Chapter

seven looks at the influence of ideology on language choice while chapter eight is the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendation for future research.

## Chapter 2

### The Language Situation in Nigeria

#### 2.1 Introduction

In chapter one I introduced the background of the Ọrọ people, their geographical location, occupation and the social makeup of the community. I also discussed the statement of the problem which this research hopes to resolve. Previous research reveals that although some amount of work has been done in the community, no work has been done in the area of language use and small scale multilingualism, hence positioning the research. In this chapter, I will discuss briefly language situation in Nigeria as well as an appraisal of the languages and repertoires used in the Ọrọ community. Since most of the languages are not local or regional, I will present a brief introduction of the origin of these languages in Nigeria and in the Ọrọ community. The idea behind this description of languages in the community is to prepare the ground for the data which will be presented in the later part of this thesis.

#### 2.2 Appraisal of the Nigerian Language Situation

Blench (1998:187) observes that Nigeria is the most linguistically diverse country in Africa and exhibits one of the most complex situations in the world. Blench's position was later supported by Grimes (2000:166) as he admits that the linguistic situation in Nigeria is simply chaotic. It is hard to determine the exact number of languages spoken in Nigeria since it is impossible to ascertain on linguistic grounds what is a language and what is a dialect (Blommaert, 2008). Moreover new languages are frequently being identified (Adegbija2004; Connell & Zeitlyn 2009). Scholars from different backgrounds have estimated that between 394 and 600 languages are spoken in Nigeria (Crozier & Blench, 1992). This linguistic diversity has led to a high level of bilingualism and multilingualism, with most Nigerians speaking at least one other language beside their first language and some speaking more than four. Code-switching is a common occurrence in Nigerian speech so that there can be two or even more languages in a single utterance.

The languages of Nigeria are many and varied, spread across the 36 states that

constitute the Nation. With a population of over 187,339,243 ('Nigeria Population (2016) - World Population Review', n.d.). It has not been very easy to select one language or a group of languages as a national language. Rather, English, which is the language of colonisation, remains the official language. Aside from English, Nigerian Pidgin English is used much more than the English language in both official and unofficial matters in the country (Elugbe & Omamor 1991; Akande & Salami 2010). Other languages are Hausa in the north, Yoruba in the South and Igbo in the East. The grouping of languages in Nigeria into 'major/majority', 'minor/minority' was done based on the number of speakers, availability of written materials and status in education (Olagoke 1980, 1982). Three languages (Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo) were taken as major, while others were grouped as minority languages (Bamgbose 1992). This grouping is misleading as people tend to think that the three languages represent the linguistic needs of all Nigerians.

Another attempted effort is the revival or strengthening of some languages with a greater number of speakers over and above very minor or undeveloped languages in their region, subsumed into the larger language as varieties or dialects. A typical example is the case of Ibibio which has now been rated the fourth largest language in Nigeria (Essien 1990; Urua 2000). This status was achieved through the joining together of other languages such as Anaang, Efik and Oron on the claim that some of the languages share a common history and are at some point mutually intelligible (Urua 2000:2). This lumping of languages has resulted in regional conflicts with speakers of minority languages maintaining the status of their languages as a distinct variety (Ekpo 2012).

Several attempts have been made in the recent past to introduce a national language, one good example being the introduction of the "Wazobia". The idea was to capture the three languages usually referred to as 'major languages' in Nigeria with an assumption that these represent the three major ethnic groups. The term is a concatenation of the words meaning 'come' in each of the languages: *wa* (Yoruba), *zo* (Hausa), *bia* (Igbo). This suggestion did not go down well with other ethnic groups which were not included in the definition of 'major languages' and this led to the idea being completely discarded as it was not accepted by many of the Nigerian population. The Yoruba language belongs to the Niger-Congo language family and is

spoken in the western part of Nigeria in seven states viz., Lagos, Ogun, Oyo, Kwara, Ondo, Ekiti, and some parts of Edo state. The Hausa language is classified as belonging to the Afro-Asiatic family and is spoken by the Hausas and Fulanis in the Northern part of Nigeria, while the Igbo language belongs to the Niger Congo language family and is spoken by the Igbos who occupy the Eastern part of the country (Orekan, 2010:18). The Lower Cross languages are the offshoot of the Niger Congo language family and are the main languages spoken in the Ọrọ community where my research is located . The other languages that act as coordinates in Ọrọ are NPE and English.

### **2.2.1 The Ọrọ Language**

Ọrọ belongs to the linguistically diverse group of languages spoken in the Niger Delta region of Nigeria. It has been classified as an offshoot of the Niger-Congo family that branches off from the New Benue Congo that finally gives birth to the Lower Cross languages. The name “Lower Cross” is suspected to have come from the Lower Basin of the Cross River estuary. Ọrọ is the third major language spoken in Akwa Ibom state after Ibibio and Anaang (Udoh 2003:35). It has at least four recognised and politically demarcated varieties that are not just mutually intelligible, but have little or no lexical or semantic difference except for Okobo (Connell, 1995; Ekpo 2012). Despite their observed differences, speakers of other varieties e.g. Uda and Okobo both understand and speak the Ọrọ variety clearly.

### **2.2.2 The Efik Language (efi)**

The Efik language is spoken in Cross River state in the South-South geopolitical zone of Nigeria. Calabar was the first capital of Southern Nigeria (Peters & Agabi, 2000:123). Because of its influence as the capital of the then South-Eastern State comprising of Calabar, Ogoja, Uyo and Annang Provinces, Efik was the language spoken in most parts of the Eastern region due to its first contact with the European missionaries who arrived on the coast of Calabar in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. South-Eastern State was later changed in 1976 to Cross River State, named after the cross river, following a decision to name the states of the Nigerian Federation after physical features like rivers (Udoh, 2003:52). According to the 2016 edition of the Ethnologue, the Efik language has a population of 400,000 speakers, with many more speaking it as a second language in Nigeria (Connell, 1995).

To facilitate a smooth running of their daily activities, Efik was given orthography by the missionaries, and interpreters were trained in the language. These interpreters functioned as intermediaries between the European missionaries and the natives. The area which is now known as the South–South region (which at present covers the Northern part of Cross River, Ebonyi, Imo, Abia and Rivers states) had the Efik language as the language of the Bible and hymns in the churches. The language soon gained popularity as noted by Connell (1995) that the Efik language was the dominant language, not only in the Lower Cross region but even outside it. It was basically the regional language of trade, religion and education. The present area known as Akwa Ibom state where Ibibio, Anaang and Oron are spoken also had Efik as its language of education, media, hospital, etc. Official business was translated into Efik, for example court proceedings, patient-doctor consultations, etc. The people within the affected regions soon became bilinguals in either Efik and Igbo (in the case of the Abia, Imo and Ebonyi states), Efik and Oron, Efik and Bekwarra, Efik and Bette, etc.

The influence of Efik over the region continued unchallenged even though Efik itself had the smallest number of speakers compared to Ibibio before the arrival of a spelling system and subsequent promotion by the missionaries. In 1983, the Ibibio Union under the leadership of Professor Okon Essien provided a spelling system for Ibibio, which actually has more speakers than any other language in the Lower Cross of today (Essien, 1990:6). Although Ibibio has been made the state language in Akwa Ibom state, the Bibles and Hymn books still remain in Efik till this date. Little wonder the members of the Oron community speak and write in Efik as a second language.

### **2.2.3 The Ibibio Language (ibb)**

The Ibibio language is spoken in Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria by a population of 1, 500, 000 according to Lewis, et al. (2016). It is also the language with the highest number of speakers being spoken in fifteen out of the thirty-one local government areas of the state. It is a fairly developed language and had its orthography dated back to 1983. This orthography paved a way for several publications in the language. Ibibio is currently ranked as the fourth largest language in Nigeria after Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo (Essien, 1990; Urua, 2000). However, its ascension to this status

was only possible through the lumping together of all the languages of the Lower Cross - Efik, Anaang, Ọrọ, Ekid, Itu Mbon Uso, etc, with all their varieties. This led to the adjustment of the Lower Cross language tree from Williamson's (1989) grouping, where Ọrọ, Anaang, etc, are rated as separate languages. The most recent classification by Essien and Urua makes Ibibio a language, and the rest of the languages are treated as forming a language cluster or varieties of Ibibio (Essien, 1990; Urua, 2000:3). This position has been criticised by aggrieved researchers from the other Lower Cross languages as an attempt by Ibibio scholars to undermine the importance of other language groups within the state (Udoh, 2003; Ekpo, 2012).

The subsequent provision of the Ibibio orthography led to more political challenges, which made the Ibibio axis demand a separate state from Cross River (Efik) people. In 1987, Akwa Ibom state was created with headquarters in Uyo, a core Ibibio town. This state creation led to many protests by the Ọrọ people who challenged their inclusion in Akwa Ibom state as against Cross River state to which they claim more allegiance. The response from the federal government of Nigeria to the Ọrọ people was that the river which cuts across Calabar, Itu, Opobo, Eket and Ọrọ is a natural boundary which underlies the decision to include them in Akwa Ibom state. Despite the state creation which gave more powers to the Ibibio language, Efik remained the language of instruction and a lingua franca in Akwa Ibom and Cross River states till about the year 2000 where there were more primers and storybooks in Ibibio to replace the Efik books used in primary, secondary and adult education. Ibibio as a language is taught together with Efik in the higher institutions in Nigeria and used in the West African Examinations Council (WAEC), and National Examinations Council (NECO).

#### **2.2.4 The Anaang Language (anw)**

The Anaang language undoubtedly constitutes the second dominant language in Akwa Ibom state. It has about 500,000 speakers (Connell, 1995) with four varieties named after their locations. These varieties are:

- a). The Ikot Ekpene variety spoken in the Ikot Ekpene local government area (the equivalent of a borough)
- b). The Abak variety spoken in Abak and the nearby villages.
- c). Ukanafun variety spoken in Ukanafun local government area.
- d). Etim Ekpo variety also spoken in Etim Ekpo.

The language has two orthographies under discussion and many publications. Being a Lower Cross language, the features of Anaang though distinct from other languages in the group is also mutually intelligible. Members of the Ọrọ community also use this language especially with the Anaang people who migrated to the Ọrọ community and have settled as part of the community. In most cases, some of them have lost competence in the language due to the influence of other languages spoken in the community. Having said that, some people still make use of the language and also pass it on to their children as perhaps a second language.

### **2.2.5 The Yoruba language**

The name ‘Yoruba’ is used to refer to the Yoruba people of Western Nigeria as well as their language. Yoruba has been acknowledged by the federal government of Nigeria as one of the three major languages of Nigeria. It has a population of about 30 million speakers. Agheyisi (1984:240) states that

The Yoruba language in Nigeria is made up of no less than a dozen distinct regional dialects associated with the smaller tribal identities which make up the larger Yoruba ethnolinguistic unit. These dialects include the Oyo (or what is often referred to as the "Yoruba proper"); the Ife; the Ijesha; the Ijebu; the Egba; the Awori; the Ekiti; the OndoOwo- Ikalẹ cluster; the Akoko; etc.

The Yoruba language is classified as Atlantic - Congo language from the Niger Congo language family. It is also a language of wider communication being spoken outside Nigeria in countries like Benin, Togo and Ghana. Within Nigeria, Yoruba is spoken in Lagos, Ogun, Ondo, Ekiti, Kogi, Oyo, Osun, Kwara and Edo states. In its capacity as a language of wider communication, Yoruba is spoken by many as a second language. It has an approved orthography and curriculum approving the language to be taught in the higher institutions especially in the western parts of Nigeria. A variety of Yoruba is spoken in the Ọrọ community by a sub Yoruba group referred to as *Ilajes*. They are a distinct migratory coastal group of Yoruba spread along the coastal belts of Ondo, Ogun, Lagos, Delta and Akwa Ibom states. The *Ilajes* are made up of four geo-political entities namely: Ode Ugbo, Ode Mahin, Ode Etikan and Aheri. The major occupation of the *Iljes* is fishing, perhaps because they live on the coastal areas.

According to the Ahta Ọrọ (iii), the Ilajes migrated to the Ọrọ community very many years ago through the Atlantic Ocean. Being fishermen, they travel far and near in search of settlement. When they arrived in Ọrọ they found the area welcoming and therefore decided to ask the chief of the Ọrọ community for permission to dwell among them, their wish was granted. Today, the Ilajes form a part of the Ọrọ community in all aspects. The practice of intermarriage between the host community and the immigrant community has bridged the gap between them in a way that new generation of Ilajes see themselves as Ọrọ indigenes.

### **2.2.6 Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE)**

When I set out to research on language use in the Ọrọ community, I had no idea how many languages I will be confronted with. My assumptions were that being a little community, only regional languages and perhaps English (in official settings) may be the basic languages spoken. Thus, the emergence of a high usage of NPE in the community came as a surprise to me. Many years ago, people viewed NPE as a language of the less educated and a bastardisation of the English language (Agheyisi, 1971:30). It was like a stigma to speak NPE in leading secondary schools and students were often punished for daring to speak it. Fifteen years later, Wardhaugh (1986:55) spoke on the fact that NPE is not a bad variety of the English language, but a language with its own history, structure, array of functions, and the possibility of winning recognition as a language. Akande (2008:37) rightly points out that “the sociolinguistic reality in Nigeria today is such that NPE is spoken by university graduates, professors, lawyers and journalists”. Today, there are lots of researches which confirm that NPE is not used in informal settings alone but also in offices and other formal settings (Elugbe & Omamor 1991; Uguru 2003; Akande 2008; Akande & Salami 2010).

Four decades ago, Mafeni (1971) observes that NPE has become a widely spoken lingua franca in Nigeria and that many town and city dwellers are at least bilingual in NPE and one indigenous language. But in 2004, three decades after Mafeni’s study, Faraclas (2004) points out the increase in the number of NPE users when he admitted that NPE was spoken by millions of people, especially the younger generation representing various linguistic areas of the Nigerian society. This time around, the number of users is no longer limited to city or town dwellers, but extended to youths across the nation. Measuring the numerical strength of NPE speakers in Nigeria,

Faraclas (2004:828) declares that over half of the Nigerian population are fluent speakers of the language which in essence makes it the most widely spoken language in Nigeria.

Many years after this report, the population of Nigeria has increased so also the population of NPE users. Little wonder why Uguru (2003:58-59) calls for the adoption of NPE as the official language in Nigeria since it is the only language that unites the nation. NPE has no boundary; it is the only language that permeates cultural, social and ethnic affinities in Nigeria.

Taking the formation of the Orọ community into consideration, I have to agree with Elugbe and Omamor (1991:1) which states as follows:

The one fact that is generally accepted about pidgin languages all over the world is that they arise from contact situations. In particular, such contact situations must be those in which the groups in contact have no common means of communication.

The authors again confirm that NPE had spread through the coastal regions of Calabar, Port Harcourt and Warri (Elugbe & Omamor 1991:13). Earlier on Gani-Ikilama (1990:16) asserts that “Nigerian Pidgin was traditionally a coastal language and that, historically, the language emanates from the contact between Nigerians living around the coastal cities of Port-Harcourt, Sapele, and so on, with the Europeans who visited Nigeria for commercial purposes”. This can explain the influence of NPE in the Orọ community, being a coastal community as well as an area which falls directly under the territory formerly referred to as Calabar Province (see 2.2.2 The Efik Language (efi)).

Much beyond the contact situation, NPE is used among siblings from the same parents raised in the same home. It is used by friends who share many languages together, used in churches even when there is a domain specific language. NPE has become a household language especially in the Orọ community context. Parents without formal education speak NPE to their children in place of English language. In essence, NPE which started as a contact language has spread through and beyond people who do not have the same language. Therefore, it is my opinion that there is much more than can be said about NPE which has made it the most famous language in Nigeria. The government should therefore ignore sentiments and listen to the cries

of the masses across the many regions in Nigeria by giving them a voice through recognising NPE as the language suitable for official purposes.

### **2.2.7 The English Language**

The English language is Nigeria's colonial language; it is the official language and of course the language of formal education. When European traders and missionaries arrived the coast of Nigeria, they needed a language for communication. Although NPE was used in some regions, the missionaries felt the need to train interpreters to aid in translating the church messages, court cases and in trade. The only way to do this was to establish schools where local people were trained. The primary aim of the missionaries was not to make their converts speak English; rather it was to make them literate enough to read the Bible in their indigenous languages. Some indigenes were able to learn and use the language after which they became catechists and teachers in the mission schools.

After independence in 1960, Nigeria was faced with a language problem having been forced into one nation (Uguru, 2008: iiv). The best choice was to adopt the language of the colonialists so as to reach out to all the regions which had separate languages. Several years after independence, English still survives and has assumed a more important status in Nigeria. Apart from being a medium of social and inter-ethnic communication, English is a national language and it is used to conduct legislative, executive and judicial functions at the three tiers of local, state and federal government levels. Be that as it may, the English language is not used by many Nigerians; it is rather considered a language of the elites, associated with power and educational attainment. It is viewed as a marginal language, unable to unite people in the country as was proposed.

Without doubt, English features in every facet of the nation, yet it has failed in touching peoples' lives in Nigeria. The fact that it is constitutionally compulsory for educational advancement makes it very relevant as a result parents force themselves to speak English to their children even at the expense of other languages. There is no doubt that English plays a role in the Ọrọ community as shall be seen in the analysis, yet it has no grip over the community members as does NPE.

### **2.3 Summary of the Chapter**

This chapter was a sort of an appraisal of some of the languages spoken in the Oro community. I have provided a review on each of the languages and highlighted their relevance and role in the community. In the next chapter, I will discuss the relevant terms adapted in this study and provide a review of the various terms which this research work hopes to achieve.

## Chapter 3

### Basic Terminologies/ Review of Selected Works

This chapter provides some basic terminologies of the concept of multilingualism and distinguishes between multi- and bilingualism. It will undertake an overview of the levels of multilingualism-societal and individual. I shall also examine the impacts and challenges of multilingualism in some African states and especially in Nigeria. I will peruse the concept of multilingualism and of multilingual practices in some African communities and narrow it down to Nigeria and the consequences for my research area in Oṛo community. I shall also review emerging concepts like plurilingualism, trilingualism, etc. in line with the literature. I shall also discuss related terms like bi- and monolingualism. I shall discuss the different criteria scholars use to decide whether a person should be called bi/multilingual. I shall deal with code-switching and language mixing as a feature of many bilingual communities.<sup>3</sup> I shall talk about Hymes' Ethnography of Speaking and its implications for my data collection, and about Joshua Fishman's domain-based model of "who speaks what language to whom and when", and why it is important for language use within the Oṛo community.

#### 3.1 Different views about Multilingualism

Multilingualism as a field of linguistic study has been differently defined by different writers, each defining it to match his/her interests, oscillating between a focus on societal multilingualism and one on individual multilingualism. This is a long-standing problem, as Aronin & Hufeisen (2009) have pointed out. In this chapter, I shall consider the two terms providing a distinction where necessary.

Scholars differ in the choice of criteria a speaker has to meet to be called a multilingual. These differences of opinion may be due not only to the different specialisations of the scholars but also to the problems the multilinguals themselves face during their daily interactions. One problem is that it is impossible to obtain

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<sup>3</sup>Naturally occurring data as used in this thesis refers to data obtained without the influence of the researcher. They are actions that occur in the community being researched which the researcher stumbles on unexpectedly. These forms of data are not staged or organized by the researcher.

universal agreement on the criteria which distinguish a language from a dialect and from a language variety.

Edwards (2013:1) argues that one cannot call a person bilingual or multilingual merely because he knows some, or many words, of another language. Edwards's definition is in line with what most researchers in multilingualism call the "maximal definition". It demands that a multilingual is proficient in all his languages and also has some degree of (grammatical) competence. Blommaert (2010) stresses the fact that there can be different degrees of competence in multilinguals and therefore introduced the term "truncated multilingualism". The term "truncated multilingualism", implies that there are different shades of multilingualism in terms of competence. It is generally accepted that most people in the world speak more than one language, i.e. are at least bilingual. Many multilinguals, however, cannot read and write in the languages they speak (Auer & Li Wei, 2007:6). The fact that they cannot speak or listen absolutely like a native, and that they cannot read or write, should not exclude them from being regarded as multilinguals. Robinson (1979:219), Adegbija (2004) and Kemp (2009:11) define a multilingual as a person who has "the ability to use three or more languages, either separately or in various degrees of code-mixing. Different languages are used for different purposes, competence in each varying according to such factors as register, occupation, and education". In this thesis, I use the "minimal definition" of multilinguality, i.e. I do not expect "perfection" or "full native-like competence". My criterion is that a person, to be called multilingual, must be able to use the language successfully, i.e. use it in words, phrases or complete utterances to be understood.

Multilingualism as a field of linguistic studies has long been of interest to researchers (Weinreich & Martinet, 1954). Researchers working on sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and psycholinguistics have studied language contact and its effect on multilingualism, second-language acquisition (SLA), language planning, effects of multiple languages on the brain and how the brains of multilinguals function during speech production (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009; Green & Abutalebi, 2013; Grosjean, 1999; Lüpke & Storch, 2013). Many countries of the world are either bi- or multilingual on a societal level, but some of the problems of multilingualism research, as captured succinctly by Auer & Li Wei (2007:7), are the issues of

measuring the extent of bilingualism and multilingualism in a country or a community. How can the level of bilingualism and multilingualism in an individual be measured? This requires quite different approaches. How many languages are spoken worldwide? This often seems to be guesswork. The figures keep increasing, even though some languages are, sadly, dying out. The increase in the numbers (totals) reported does not mean that there is an increase in the actual number of languages spoken (Anderson & Lightfoot, 2002:3). It rather means that researchers find new languages in areas previously under-described, and improved understanding, which may lead to a dialect or language variety being regarded as a distinct language.

Most countries in the world practise multilingualism, and many researchers have said that "multilingualism is a norm" (Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009). Widespread societal multilingualism is found in many countries of the world as can be seen in the language atlas by Ethnologue. In 1961, the national census of India identified over one thousand language varieties. The Indian constitution recognises fourteen languages. Of these fourteen, thirteen are regional languages, with Sanskrit as the classical language (García & Fishman, 2001:5). In the Philippines, over seventy languages are spoken indigenously with Tagalog (also known as Filipino) having the largest number of speakers. Spanish was the official language until after independence, when English, Spanish and Filipino became official languages.

The discussion in this chapter presents multilingualism as a complex phenomenon which pervades different social, historical and cultural processes. It manifests itself in the everyday practices and experiences of multilingual individuals. Having considered the various views of multilingualism and multilinguals, this thesis treats multilingualism as the ability to manipulate three or more languages within a social context and having the metapragmatic competence to make the right linguistic choice for the occasion. Knowing when to speak, what to say and how to speak is a valuable additional skill, a cultural skill, this goes beyond competency in one, or all, of the languages of a multilingual.

Multilingualism is particularly widespread in Africa (Lüpke & Storch, 2013). In Cameroon, for example, there are two official languages (French and English), four "lingua francas", and 285 languages of mainly local distribution. Lüpke & Storch

(2013) stresses the importance of investigating linguistic settings in the Global South, where multilingualism was the norm in many configurations prior to modern "super diversity" (Blommaert & Rampton (2011). In the Oꝛo community (and similar ones) speakers are socialized from birth to use several languages. They may not practise all of them throughout their lives since they may either move to other locations or the linguistic composition of their birth environment may change. In such a setting, with its multitude of languages, repertoires, registers and styles available to the speakers, it becomes almost impossible to say who a native speaker is or what a native language is. Although members of the Oꝛo community lay claims to the Oꝛo variety as being their mother tongue, I have chosen to discuss the thesis based on issues like L1, to represent first language ever spoken, L2 and L3 to represent second and third languages in order of acquisition. In this way, the research has avoided the controversy of naming a particular variety or language as the mother tongue of the community.

According to Aromin & Singleton (2012: 5), Bilingualism and Multilingualism are however used interchangeably in literature because of the fact that they share many similarities both at the psychological and sociolinguistic levels. But Hoffman (2010:3) cited in Aromin & Singleton (2012:5) says that Multilingualism has "characteristics of its own". A number of distinctions between bilingualism and multilingualism have been drawn by scholars with regard to quantitative and qualitative factors involved in language acquisition and also distinctions that have to do with cross-linguistic interaction.

Multilingualism is a product of the fundamental human ability to communicate in a number of languages. Operational distinctions may then be drawn between social, institution, discursive and individual multilingualism. Multilingualism is of two types as identified by Agbedo (2007:14) viz; individual and societal multilingualism. While the former refers to a speaker who has acquired and maintained at least one language during childhood which is referred to as the first language, the later refers to a group or community of speakers who use two or more languages. In other words, societal multilingualism involves more than two languages co-existing within a speech community. In effect, individual multilingualism denotes the multilingual state of a

person as opposed to the multilingualism of a community or a society. It is very closely interconnected with and dependent on societal multilingualism. That is to say, it is a very special aspect of multilingualism (Aronin & Singleton 2012).

However, Njemanze (2012) argues that one of the languages available to a multilingual individual is the mother tongue; the L2 which is the second is typically learnt at school and is used in formal situations. This situation described by Njemanze does not hold truth about most African multilingual individuals nor the communities. In the Oꝛo community, multilingualism is a norm, a situation where a child already acquires at least three languages before they attain school age. Perhaps the only language which children on the streets of Oꝛo learn from school is English and this simply adds to the languages of the child. Other than this, a typical situation in the community is for a child to grow up with the languages spoken at home by parents which might likely be Oꝛo, Efik language which might be the one used in the church where the child attends service, Ibibio language which is used also in the streets of the community as well as in primary schools, and NPE which is also used in the streets of the community and the various varieties within the community. This situation painted in my research is also reported by scholars who have worked on African languages.

From the historical perspective, multilingual communities are said to evolve as a result of migration (voluntary or involuntary movement of people from one place to another), colonization, conquest and incorporating speakers of different languages into a single political unit. Agbedo (2007:12) citing Fasold (1984:9) identifies four kinds of historical patterns that can lead to societal multilingualism namely: migration, imperialism, federalism and border area multilingualism. Aronin & Singleton (2012:46) distinguish between historical and contemporary multilingualism. One of such distinctions, among others, is geographical location. With regard to geographical location, historical multilingualism in the past uses more than one language which was very often a feature of a particular type of geographical locations (i.e. border area, regions having own local language varieties, towns in trade routes, imperial administrative centers, etc), unlike contemporary multilingualism in which the use of more than one language is becoming an increasingly ubiquitous phenomenon in the sense that most urban centres in Europe, Asia and Africa are characterized by some degree of multilingual language use. The nature of

multilingualism given by Wardhaugh (2006:97) of the Tukano people gives a clue of the multilingual nature of the Ette community. Multilingualism exists among the Tukano of the northwest Amazon because of their customs which forbids marriage among themselves rather they prefer to marry from neighbouring groups who speak other languages. In Ette community, however, people naturally intermarry from neighbouring community just like any other ethnic groups, but that does not only explain their multilingual nature.

### **3.1.1 Advantages and Challenges of Multilingualism**

There are different opinions on how to perceive multilingualism as asset or liability in a nation. In organised societies, multilingualism will without any doubt be an asset. A good example of this is the South African multilingual situation cited by Ngubane (2003) that “multilingualism is not a problem. It is a resource.” He states with optimism, “multilingualism in South Africa will afford individuals great opportunities; opportunities to make choices, opportunities to be empowered and opportunities to be educated”. It is believed that the implementation of well-managed multilingualism in South Africa would influence the economic, social, educational, political and personal growth of individuals.

Official multilingualism aims to foster respect for language rights and linguistic diversity, and to promote national unity. National unity cannot be forged through dominance of one language by another. Such dominance could lead to social tension and even violence, a situation which is prevalent in Nigeria today. Respecting, accepting and accommodating the language preferences of individuals will contribute more to national unity than official Monolingualism (Ngubane, 2003). Four language-based problems that would be solved by multilingualism have been identified by Ngubane (2003). These are: restricted access to knowledge and skills; low productivity and ineffective performance in the workplace; inadequate political participation by the public resulting in manipulation, discrimination, and exploitation by ruling powers which contribute to national division and conflict; and linguistic and cultural alienation.

### **3.1.2 Some Advantages of Multilingualism**

From the foregoing, I will like to state that multilingualism is advantageous in the following ways:

- a) Unity: where multilingualism is practiced, there is less suspicion of intentions thereby unifying a people/nation. A typical example is the Nigeria case study where English as a foreign language is used to play the role of unifying the country. So far, this has been unsuccessful as less population understands or use the English language which is linked to education and power.
- b) Medium of instruction: multilingualism ensures official medium of instruction which in essence promotes communication between different linguistic and cultural groups.
- c) Status upliftment: multilingualism promotes and uplifts the statuses of ethnic and local community languages. This diminishes the imposition of “powerful” languages on the local and regional languages leading to people identifying with their languages without any shame. Ideologically, speakers are bound to be proud of their small languages rather than claim to belong to major languages which have official status.
- d) Job opportunities: it increases people’s employment opportunities in the modern world.
- e) Religious/Ethnic tolerance: although India has one of the highest populations in the world, there are only very minor occasions where the nation of India faces crisis. I can attribute this to a well-managed multilingual nation where all the languages are given equal right. If Nigeria as a multilingual nation would manage its language resources adequately, there would be a reduced rate in religious and ethnic crisis.

### **3.1.3 Challenges of Multilingualism**

The question that begs for an answer at the moment is, if we say that multilingualism has some advantages, what then are its challenges? There are as it is some challenges which face multilingualism, especially as it concerns African countries. Some of the very nagging disadvantages of multilingualism are as follows:

- a). Division: because the languages spoken in the nation are divided in that many people do not understand themselves (as it is in Nigeria), there is no unity. Everyone is a suspect. Just because most people in the East do not understand Hausa makes any available Hausa person a potential “Boko Haram” or better still “Fulani herdsman”. On the other hand, the Hausa/Fulani person sees every Easterner as “Igbo” and therefore an enemy which should not be tolerated at any instance. Most of these

problems can be attributed to the diverse nature of the nation's linguistic scenario. If there had been a common language which everyone speaks in the country, perhaps we would understand each other and there would be less suspicion and hatred.

b. Choosing a mutually acceptable language policy, particularly with reference to allocation of functions will likely create disaffection.

New research has moved beyond the issue of how many languages and how much of a given language is needed to make a speaker multilingual. It focuses not on languages in the repertoire of speakers but on the resources which enable them to communicate. These resources may be traditionally associated with a given language, but this does not mean that the speakers distinguish these languages and code-switch. This way of thinking has led to the introduction of new terms such as polylinguaging, plurilingualism, polylingualism and trilingualism (Jørgensen 2008:168; Moller 2008: 217; and Angelis, 2007:11).

### **3.2 Plurilingualism**

According to the Council of Europe as cited in Leglise & Migge (2015:29), [p]lurilingualism differs from multilingualism, which is the knowledge of a number of languages, or the co-existence of different languages in a given society [ . . . ] the plurilingual approach emphasises the fact that as an individual person's experience of language in its cultural contexts expands, from the language of the home to that of society at large and then to the languages of other peoples (whether learnt at school or college, or by direct experience), he or she does not keep these languages and cultures in strictly separated mental compartments, but rather builds up a communicative competence to which all knowledge and experience of language contributes and in which languages interrelate and interact." (Council of Europe 2001: 4)

Plurilingualism would be misunderstood if it were taken as a simple synonym of "multilingualism", identical in significance. It was adopted by the European Council for improving linguistic communication among the countries of Europe with their many different languages (Martyniuk, 2012). Whereas multilingualism is given in countries like Nigeria where children grow up with several languages and absorb them, so to speak, with their mother's milk, without threshold levels, syllabi, exams and certificates, pluralism of the Council of Europe variety is an ideal, an objective, that is to be promoted and achieved through teaching and learning. Plurilingualism is

intended to put an end to the limitations of monolingualism. Plurilingualism, just like multilingualism, does not emphasise perfection, but communicative competence (getting by, making oneself understood) in all languages in the speaker's repertoire.

I have decided to look at the concept of plurilingualism because of the benefits which learners and teachers might receive if the idea were adopted in an African community. Although the plurilingualism project seems to have done well in Europe, we cannot be sure that it will do so in Africa, and specifically in the Oyo community. Plurilingualism tries to fully provide for the teaching of many languages, including those of, and for, migrants, but in the Oyo community only one regional language and one foreign language, English, which is the official language of the nation, are allowed to be taught in schools. Unlike in Europe, where governments provide funding for the implementation of plurilingualism, teachers in the Oyo community complain of lack of specialised subject teachers even in the few languages approved by the state and by federal governments.

Although many people in the Oyo community speak French and some also speak Spanish because the borders of Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea are so close, the education authorities have not given a thought to allowing French and Spanish to be taught in schools. If the Nigerian government adopted the idea of plurilingualism, communities like Oyo which are close to regions in which other official languages are spoken could create stronger business ties with these neighbouring African communities, and this would help the economy of the country.

### **3.2.1 Polylingualism**

Another recent term used in preference to multilingualism is "Polylingualism". This term was introduced to capture situations where such traditional terms like code, variety and language were not adequate to describe the observed linguistic behaviour of the interactant (Knapp et al., 2009). Moller (2008:217) argues that:

Terms like bilingual or multilingual are inappropriate to describe these verbal interactions because these terms presuppose that linguistic production is divided in categories in advance. Instead, I suggest the term polylingual as more sufficient in describing the fluent use of linguistic features which are locally constructed as categories of linguistic features...).

To support the argument, Jorgensen (2008:168) states:

The young speakers become acquainted with many different features from these languages, and they use some of them in their speech without learning all the other parts of the languages involved. The use of features from several different languages in the same production has become frequent, especially in in-group interaction, even when the speakers apparently know very little of several of the involved languages.

Both arguments are true of certain multilingual environments. This kind of setting is found in the Oró community but mainly practised among the group of participants I categorise as "Incomer" and "Returnee". These participants have adopted the language habit of picking up some phrases and sentences from the target language and manipulate their ways through every conversation where they are involved. Unlike in the plurilingual practice, where participants also write these languages, the multilingualism practices in the setting of this thesis are mainly speaking. The fact that these individuals are able to manipulate features from different languages in conversation, knowing when to call on them and thereby making communication effective, allows them to be considered multilinguals on some level.

More than half of the population of the world speaks three or more languages. Nigeria speaks about 516 languages and dialects, India has 426 languages, and about 200 are spoken in Brazil. Multilingualism has been the subject of much research in the past few years, thereby been recognised as a global phenomenon, a pervasive fact of life around the world; a circumstance arising, at the simplest level, from the need to communicate within and across speech communities Edwards (2012:12). Much of this research, however, has dealt with Western settings and, within this setting, on classroom contexts or on early child language development. Where studies have investigated multilingualism in the Global South, and in particular in Africa, there has been a prevalence of studies investigating code-switching between the (European) official languages and one or two major African languages (Adegbija, 2004; Myers-Scotton, 1993). Building on these pioneering studies, it is now possible, due to the growing number of linguistic descriptions of smaller languages, to expand this focus and include settings where a high number of African languages are used.

### 3.2.2 Bilinguals and Bilingualism

The terms bilingual/bilingualism have, like the terms monolingual/monolingualism, been used in a variety of ways. Bloomfield (1984) thinks that a bilingual should possess "native-like control of two or more languages". Moradi (2014:1) says that a bilingual is a person who can speak, interact in, read or understand two languages equally well. For Garland (2007) a bilingual exists on a continuum which runs from the relatively monolingual language learner to a highly proficient bilingual speaker who functions at a high level in both languages. Most scholars nowadays reject the usage of Bloomfield and of Moradi (above) since it assumes that the bilingual is two monolinguals rolled into one (Auer & Li Wei, 2007).

Some scholars use bilingualism as an umbrella term for both bi- and multilingualism (Grosjean, 1999). For these authors bilingualism is proficiency in more than one language. Others see bilingualism as a common human condition which makes it possible for an individual to function, at some level or other, in more than one language. Hamers & Blanc (1989:6) distinguish between the term "bilingualism" to refer to societies whose communities use two languages, and "bilinguality" to refer to 'the psychological state of an individual' who knows two languages. This distinction follows (Weinreich & Martinet, 1954:67) and (Lambert & Tunstall, 1968:484).

In this thesis, I try to distinguish clearly between people and societies which are able to use:

- only one language (monolinguals)
- only two languages (bilinguals)
- more than two languages (multilinguals).

My data show that such a distinction is possible and important. 200 participants in my research reported their language use. None of the bilinguals claimed to use both languages equally well. When they said, they were very good in one language, they admitted being very limited in the other.

### **3.2.3 Monolinguals and Monolingualism**

The term "monolingual" can be applied to individuals or to a society which uses only one language. The various definitions depend on the researcher's point of view. Some of the definitions place a monolingual person into a very privileged position.

Aronin & Hufeisen (2009:14), for example, see him/her as a person who can use one (and only one) language very proficiently and even has a command of the different varieties of the language. Auer & Li Wei (2007), by contrast, defines a monolingual individual simply as a person who is able to communicate in just one language. They do not demand mastery of different varieties of this language as essential. An individual is called monolingual if he/she has access to only one language: a nation or community are called monolingual if most of its members are monolingual. To Ellis (2006:175) the term "monolinguality" denotes the psycholinguistic state of an individual who knows only one language. This approach was influenced by Hamers & Blanc (1989), who distinguished between the bilinguality of an individual and the bilingualism of a society. Auer & Li Wei (2007:3) says that even countries which claim to be ideologically monolingual may in practice never have been truly monolingual.

I shall use the term monolingual to denote an individual who uses, or has access to, only one language as a means of communication. My data do not contain a single individual who fits that definition: None of my participants speak only one language. Some participants claim to speak only one language, but as soon as one enquires into different domains (e.g. religion), it turns out that they also speak at least one other language, different from the one they claim to be their only language.

### **3.3 Speech Community**

Since the research considered in this thesis was carried out in a speech community, I think it's needful to explain my understanding of a speech community. A speech community as it is implied in this thesis represents a group of people which share a set of norms and expectations regarding the use of language. A number of sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists have defined a speech community in diverse ways as we shall see below. The notion of a speech community was defined by Gumperz (1982:24) as "A system of organised diversity held together by common norms and aspirations. Members of such a community typically vary with respect to

certain beliefs and other aspects of behaviour. Such variation, which seems irregular when observed at the level of the individual, nonetheless shows systematic regularities at the statistical level of social facts.”Hymes (1967; 1972:54-55) defines a speech community as “A community sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety.... A necessary primary term... it postulates the basis of description as a social, rather than a linguistic, entity.”

Labov (1972:120-121): “The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms. These norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage.” Romaine (1994:22): “A speech community is a group of people who do not necessarily share the same language, but share a set of norms and rules for the use of language. The boundaries between speech communities are essentially social rather than linguistic. A speech community is not necessarily co-extensive with a language community.”Hudson (1996:28-29; 229) posits that the term “speech community” misleads “by implying the existence of ‘real’ communities ‘out there’, which we could discover if we only knew how... Our socio-linguistic world is not organised in terms of objective ‘speech communities’.”

Having considered some of the definitions provided by scholars, this thesis makes reference to Hymnes (1967; 1972) definition of a speech community as one “sharing rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech, and rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety....”

### **3.4 Dialect/Variety**

A dialect can be defined as a regional or social variety of a language spoken or shared by a group of people in a particular area. The differences between a language and a dialect is thin, but it could be distinguished by pronunciation, vocabulary, sounds and words especially in a way of speaking, which differs from the standard variety of the language. Wolfram (2009:35) states that languages are manifested through the dialects of that language, and to speak a language is to speak some dialect of that language. The social factors that correlate with dialect diversity may range from

geography to the complex notion of cultural identity. A dialect sometimes is used to refer to a social or geographical variety of a language. It is on this basis that this thesis has adopted the use of language variety rather than a dialect.

### 3.5 Review of Related Works

In this section, I will consider some views of researchers on multilingualism taking into consideration their approaches to the issue and the results obtained. I will also link this to my research and explain the decision for adopting the methods and approaches examined. Most of the studies presented in this review deals more with African setting and therefore relate directly to my research area.

#### 3.5.1 Adegbija (2004). Multilingualism: A Nigerian Case Study.

The work of Adegbija (2004) is of particular relevance to this research as far as multilingualism, language use and code choices are concerned. The research by Adegbija investigated language choices among a group of Nigerians. The study was conducted by Adegbija's postgraduate students through the use of a questionnaire consisting of 33 items relating to language choice at home, in performing different specific functions, and in impressing people. The questionnaire was administered to 200 Nigerians between the ages of 18 and 50 from the following language backgrounds: Hausa, Yoruba, Igbo, Idoma, Ibibio, Edo, Nupe, Efik, Oko-Osanyin, Ebirra and Okpe. Each of the subjects spoke an average of two to five languages with 60% speaking two languages, 30% three, and 10% over four languages.

**Table 1**

	ITEMS	MOTHER TONGUE (%)	ENGLISH (%)	ENGLISH/MOTHER TONGUE (%)
1.	Language used to an intimate person who understands two or more of the languages you speak	44.5	40	15.5
2.	Language used to a stranger who understands same languages	44.5	43.5	6.5
3.	Language used to members of the opposite sex	22.5	60	17.5
4.	Language used when annoyed	36	34.5	22.5
5.	Language 'spoken' in dreams	60	8	20

6.	Language in which you think	60.5	17.5	20.5
7.	Language of interaction chosen when someone has same MT as you	84	5	11
8.	Language used with parent at home	80.5	7.5	12
9.	Language used in discussing:			
	Politics	13.5	71.5	11
	Academics	4.5	80.5	10
	Love Affairs	17.5	62	17
	Religion	31.0	44	22
	Music	23.5	52.5	22.5
10.	Language used to an elder who can speak same language	77	13	8
1.	Language used when you try to impress:			
	Old people	79	11	8
	Colleagues	15	67	18
	Younger people	16	22	14
2.	Language used in worshipping	30	52.5	11.5
3.	Language in which you can most easily express yourself	51	47	2
4.	Language used when you are with your colleagues	12	61	22
5.	Language used to teachers outside class	12	72	10
6.	Language used when someone begins a discussion in your MT	28	67	1

The above table does not include the possibility that the speaker was using more languages than just the mother tongue and English. In consequence, not all the rolls add up to 100%. The author notes that a study based on a questionnaire might not be the best assessment of language choices of individuals or a community. However, the study does give some insight into the choice of language among the respondents. The major factors involved are the participants, the situation, and the topic. In terms of participant-specific factors, 84% of the respondents say they prefer their mother tongue when interacting with someone who shares the same mother tongue. Other preferences for the use of their mother tongue are in areas such as the language used with older members of the family or community, the language in which one thinks and expresses oneself, and the languages experienced in dreams. However, the topic is also important. As noted by Green (1998) and Grosjean (2001), some topics of discussion is better handled in a language that is considered to be better to express the content. This can be observed in the above data where English is used in discussing

topics like politics (71.5%), academics (80.5%), love affairs (62%), music (52.5%) and religion (44%).

Politics in Nigeria is associated with educated elites, as well as the rich, in some other contexts. There are no books in any known Nigerian language which treat politics. The implication here is that a topic of discussion which has no equivalence in the local language is always talked about in the original language, which in this case is English. Though the discussion will not be completely in English as code-switching is prevalent in this society, the dominant or matrix language in this type of discussion will be English. Aside from this, English is associated with prestige, especially with people vying for political offices or their supporters. Choosing to speak English in a political rally may be to capture the attention of the public in a positive way. If an applicant is vying for a federal position such as a president of Nigeria, because there is no indigenous national language, s/he is left with no choice than to speak English.

Similarly, Nigeria is evolving in the use of pop and other forms of foreign music. Most musicians in Nigeria indulge in code-switching to get the music across to a wider population. Most themes of this music, especially where love is involved are usually laced with English. On the use of English in religious settings, the Christian faith has undergone some renaissance in the past few years. New churches have emerged and are still emerging. The Pentecostal churches, for instance preach most of their messages in English and interpreted into the local languages. Most of the congregation of Pentecostal and protestant churches are dominated by youth who are educated. In most cases, the presiding pastor may not be from the same linguistic background as the people in the church community, in which case the principal language of communication will necessarily be English. All these factors contribute to the importance English as a language plays in Nigeria.

The problem with the questionnaire is that Adegbija does not specifically involve other Nigerian languages in the test, but relies on the concept of ‘mother tongue’. How did the participants know the meaning and definition of mother tongue? What is a mother tongue in the face of so many languages and repertoires spoken in a community? A research project like the one by Adegbija would be more illuminating was it to take into consideration all of the languages which the participants claim to speak, if language choice was the main focus of the study. It is problematic to arrive

at a judgement about choices made by people who speak many languages, with a study that only differentiates between mother tongue and English. Languages should have been provided for and options read to the participants, example, Yoruba, Igbo, Efik, Kalabari, etc. Nevertheless, the findings shed light on some facets of language choice, especially as regards the use of English to handle some issues which are difficult to handle in the local languages. Issues concerning medicines, tools, politics, etc., in Nigeria are best handled in the language in which they are written. This is why, for example, many medical terms are not translated when talking to a non-literate person.

#### **3.5.1.1 Insights from Adegbija (2004)**

The review here presented by Adegbija made use of just one method of data collection – the questionnaire. Many scholars for example (Woolard, 1992; Ferrer & Sankoff, 2003) have argued against the use of one direct method of investigation in collecting data used in assessing language use and attitude. This is because such a method may fail to reveal language values that respondents are unaware of or are unwilling to admit for prestige reasons. Besides, such explicitly elicited questions may not always correlate exactly with the possibly unconscious attitudes which are revealed by more indirect methods of investigation. Bearing the criticism in mind, the study of the Oṛo community adopted ethnographic participant observation and informal interviews supplemented by the knowledge of the researcher as an insider in the investigation.

Although the literature above has the limitation placed on it by the use of just one direct method of investigation, the findings have some positive impacts on the current research. My data from the Oṛo community indicates that young people, especially in higher education, mix languages more frequently, and in most cases the mixture is between indigenous languages and English. There are many ways languages are mixed in conversation; one is through code-switching and code-mixing. This thesis identifies code-switching as the means by which the Oṛo people navigate through their various repertoires.

### **3.5.2 Repertoires and Choices in African Languages (Lüpke & Storch, 2013)**

The above is a six-chapter book which provides thorough and realistic accounts of multilingualism in an African setting. The authors present accounts of various multilingual practices encountered in the African context. Dissatisfied with some analyses of African languages and multilingualism, the authors show how African languages are used in daily interactions. Since some people speak more than six languages, the authors argue that speakers' profiles can be better described and understood in terms of registers and repertoires than in terms of discrete languages. They further argue that named languages are changeable socio-political constructs which only correspond to (idealised) language use through standardization.

Most languages in Africa are spoken in a continuum without clear boundaries for varieties spoken in continuous spaces. Based on this argument, the authors follow Good & Hendryx-Parker (2006) in adopting the term "languoid" to avoid the arbitrary nature of language boundaries. The authors maintain that there are no fixed linguistic identities and hence, language choices depend on domains, contexts, addressees and many other factors play a significant role in determining which repertoire or register should be used.

Commenting on language use in West Africa, the authors state that the concepts of mother tongue and L1 have little relevance as speakers use several languages in different contexts, live in multilingual families and multilingual neighbourhoods. To them, their multilingual skills are part of their cultural lives and social integrity. Therefore, their ability to draw on a variety of languages and registers give them the opportunity to use and express different concepts of wisdom and knowledge. When assessing the use of language and the spread of multilingualism in the Tarok and Wapha communities in Northern Nigeria, Lüpke & Storch (2013) note that this community practises exogamous marriage, where women usually come from different linguistic backgrounds. This situation, says the authors, has led to close ties with the neighbouring communities as well as highly multilingual families. She thinks that, where differences in the languages and varieties are maintained, this is due to language ideologies which encourage speakers to acknowledge differences between languages. Other reasons could be prestige or government rating and that certain languages are recognised as official ahead of others. This makes speakers of

the less acknowledged languages feel that their language is primitive if it does not have official status. Below are some of the observations the authors made as contributing to African multilingualism which has made it different from other situations experienced elsewhere.

#### 1. Patrimonial language ideologies combined with fluid language practices.

The authors painted a scenario based on a case study of Agnack, a small village in the Lower Casamance of Senegal. They noted that Casamance is associated with many named languages and the idea behind the common naming practise is that each named language belongs to a village or a location. This language logic, labelled "patrimonial deixis" by (Lüpke, 2016), is widespread at the African Frontier (Kopytoff, 1987). In societies of this type, small clan-based groups continuously reconstitute, resulting in heterogeneous populations. The patrimonial language is the language of the (mostly male) founder. Given that these groups continuously incorporate new-comers, strangers, not everybody can claim this patrimonial language, which is associated with land rights. A similar situation is reported by Di Carlo & Good (2016) on the Lower Fungom region of Northwest Cameroon. This experience of one named language corresponding to a village or location is also observed for the varieties of Ọrọ , regarded as distinct languages by speakers. There is no significant linguistic difference between Ọrọ and Ebughu, Enwang, Uda or Ilue. The only variety that exhibits some divergence is the Okobo variety (Connell, 1998; Ekpo, 2012).

In contexts where language indicates patrimonial identity, it cannot be taken for granted that speakers of these named languages are monolingual. For the Casamance context, Lüpke (2016) shows that, while the villages each have their own named patrimonial language, these places are not inhabited by monolingual populations but are heterogeneous, just like urban spaces. If one of the named languages is being accorded the status of local language, it is associated with the first group of settlers in the community, who claim the status of landlord. This power allows them to exercise control over more recent incomers through allocation of farm land, but they are not treated as equal when it comes to sharing of power. A similar scenario is reported by Di Carlo (2012) for the Cameroonian grasslands, where the chief is also responsible for allocating land and other resources to his subjects. This practice is like that of the Ọrọ community, where chiefs rule over the other members in the villages, but differ

in that land belongs to individuals in the community. Land in the Ọrọ community is owned by individual families and passed on from generation to generation. New settlers may buy a piece of land or rent it and may take part in every activity in the village, but they may not ascend to the throne of tradition, such as the throne of Ahta Ọrọ, the highest traditional title in the Ọrọ community.

The fact that communities are heterogeneous, receive newcomers and settle them over centuries, and integrate new members for other reasons on a regular basis (see below) has consequences for the applicability of widespread concepts. On the issue of "mother tongue", Lüpke (2016:10) argues that there is no such thing as mother tongue in the Casamance and suggests one should rather talk about what she calls "identity language". Identity language, according to Lüpke, is the language that is often the father's language, and sometimes the language of the father and that of the mother taken together. Identity languages are not static: "there is ample evidence that 'identity' languages are changeable according to the context and the alliance desired" (Lüpke, 2016:10). Lüpke says that concepts such as "mother tongue" or "native speaker" are ideological and originate in the Northern experience of language use: "Concepts like 'mother tongue' or 'native speaker' reflect widespread Northern ideas on language and express the ideology that an individual can only have and master one language, and that this one language embodies identity".

In Ọrọ and other African countries , language plays the same role that it plays in Senegal. While the concept of "mother tongue", L1 and L2 might not be obvious in the Casamance, the Ọrọ community maintains a strong affinity to their language as their mother tongue. This study avoids the term "mother tongue" but prefers terms like L1 and L2. They denote, in order of acquisition, the first and second language participants remember speaking.

The authors observed that such ideologies are rooted in the sociocultural context of the area since the area of Casamance and Senegambia have been characterised by constant contact between mobile, decentralised groups based on extended families or clans. Unpredictable events, like migration, conflicts, raids, religious movements, independence, etc., have often led to displacement and sometimes assimilation with other groups. Moreover, the identity language is not necessarily the language one

speaks but the language one "owns", as argued by Lüpke (2016) for Casamance. Similar observations can be made for the Australian pre-contact context (Evans, 2010), where speaking and owning a language often do not go together. The kind of linguistic practices common in most African multilingual settings are powered by various social factors which help to nurture the diversity found in these areas such as:

1. Exogenous marriages and movement of daughters.

The second point the authors discovered which makes African multilingualism different is exogenous marriage practice and movements of daughters. In many African contexts, women do not marry close relatives. This practise gives rise to many women being married in from outside the linguistic group into which they marry. Once married, the woman becomes a member of a different community and may have to learn a new language. For example, among the Jóola communities in Casamance, men from Jipalom village give daughters and sisters to, and receive wives and mothers from, a total of 17 villages (Linares, 1988; see also Lüpke & Storch, 2013). The authors note that given such a situation, children born out of that kind of union usually grow up speaking two or more languages at home. Women's mobility is not restricted to reasons of marriage; women in the Agnack community and elsewhere do not only move because of exogamous marriage or being widowed or divorced, but may also retire from marriage after a certain age and return to their original village.

2. Language acquisition in peer groups and age classes.

The other factor identified by the authors as contributing to the growth of multilingualism in Africa is the way and manner which language is acquired by the children. Unlike in the European setting where it might be difficult to allow children play or go out of their compounds, children in the Casamance from the age of 3 or 4 years, develop an independent and a semi-independent life by playing with other children in an open space in the compound or at the street corner. This is where they learn to draw, calculate and build, all through playing. While doing this, they will also be socialised linguistically, in more than one language since in a multilingual society, children at the playground would not represent only one language. Immigrant children and the offspring of exogamous marriages, etc., will also be there and, as they grow older, they pick up each other's languages.

### 3. Child Fostering.

One other practice which they find out as common in African multilingualism is child fostering. This is another factor that favours multilingualism and is very important in Africa (Lüpke & Storch, 2013). The authors point out that child fostering in Africa is different from Western fostering, which occurs mainly in crisis situations. Child fostering in Africa arises from the relationships which exist among close families. Parents delegate the duty of raising some of their children to other people for various reasons. Child fostering has no boundaries, and therefore children could be fostered across language communities, and this contributes to multilingualism. Among the reasons for child fostering are the following:

- Kinship fostering where the child is raised by family members
- Crisis fostering where there is separation or death
- Wardship and alliance fostering "to establish and strengthen social, economic, or political alliances"
- Domestic fostering, where mainly girls are fostered to help with household tasks in their foster family
- Educational fostering, where children are sent to relatives or non-relatives in order to have access to formal education.

In Africa, having children fostered is an age-old practise which contributes greatly to multilingualism. There are some typical reasons why families send their children to be fostered, e.g. to help relatives or non-relatives with domestic chores, or, especially girls, for babysitting. This type of arrangement is made where parents cannot afford to give their children a good education or to train them for, and set them up in, a trade or business. The foster parents will usually reward the foster children by providing them with an education, or, in the past, by just raising them as morally good people, and, in the case of girls, teaching them the skills they need as mothers and wives. The boys, especially in the Igbo community of Nigeria, are mostly trained as traders, an old tradition associated with the Igbo community in Nigeria. This is a kind of apprenticeship. The boys or guardians sign an agreement to serve the "master" for a minimum of 5 to 7 years, and thereafter the boy will be "settled", meaning he will be set up in a business of his own. This is still customary in the Igbo community.

If the foster parents and the foster children belong to different linguistic communities, the foster family will receive into its bosom two additional languages, and the foster children will be exposed to the languages of the foster family. This greatly increases the multilingualism in the receiving family. A comprehensive account of this subject is provided in chapter 1 of Lüpke & Storch, (2013).

### **1. Professional, ritual and crisis mobility and migration.**

The movement of people around the continent is not limited to women getting married and children being fostered, but also includes migration for professional, ritual and religious purposes. Lüpke & Storch (2013) investigate the role which mobility plays in the economic, educational, religious and ritual in African multilingualism. They observe that economically motivated migration includes such diverse purposes as the gathering of hunters and the movement of trained personnel like nurses, doctors, teachers, etc., for education, training and employment. In chapter 1, Lüpke discusses how people travel every year for ritual purposes from urban areas to villages. These rituals range from religious to social. Young people are initiated into age grades and secret societies, and in the process children mix with other children who may have travelled from other cities for the ritual ceremony or with children at home in the villages. This age-old practise exists in almost all parts of Africa and in West Africa in particular. To give an example from my research context, the youths of Oṛo only recently re-introduced the practise of celebrating Christmas with traditional performances typical of Oṛo as a way of preserving their cherished culture and language. On 31 December 2013, I witnessed and recorded the grand finale of the competition with over 52 different traditional displays representing either a village or a local government. I observed traditional practices which I thought had been long forgotten, and there were indigenes of Oṛo, expatriates, who had travelled from all over the world to witness the events. Some of the participants were introduced along with their spouses and children who had never been to Oṛo before this occasion. Most of the children I saw there were struggling with the languages, but excited to chat with people. This demonstrated conspicuously the heterogeneous nature of many social events.

### **3.5.2.1 Insights from Lüpke & Storch, (2013)**

I have chosen to review the research on Agnack and other smaller communities in Senegal because of the importance and similarities to my research site. The first consideration stems from the fact that the communities under study are small settlements but with dense multilingual setting. The setting provided for individuals speaking more than four languages and their identities always changing to suit wherever they found themselves. Some of the problems encountered by the authors on the dichotomy and controversies surrounding the use of and definition of language are to a large extent the case with the Ọrọ community. The fact that languages are named based on village names make it difficult to ascertain what a language is and what a dialect or variant of a language is.

The authors adopted a combination of methods for data collection. They employed ethnographic study of the communities coupled with questionnaires. With these methods, they were able to study the social networks and community of practice in order to understand how these varied repertoires were used in interaction by members of the community. The authors observed that there were just too many ideologies from colonialists and influence on African languages and expectations. But that failure to meet up with these expectations is often viewed by these westerners as weakness and poverty on the part of Africans. They emphasised the relevance of African multilingualism which is not just for the understanding of Africa's linguistic landscape, but for the understanding of multilingualism and language survival in general. The insights learned from this review are great, especially, as both countries belong to West Africa. They also share a common history of colonialism as both of them were colonised by Europeans.

### **3.5.3 Di Carlo & Good (2014; 2016) Multilingualism in Rural Africa**

Good (2014; 2016) provides a detail accounts of historical aspects of (West) African multilingualism in the Lower Fungom area. Multilingualism is often thought of as a recent phenomenon, resulting from migration or language shift . As mentioned in the introduction, the Ọrọ community borders on western Cameroon . Most of the features of small scale multilingualism discussed by Di Carlo & Good are also found in the Ọrọ community. Lower Fungom is a region of the Cameroonian grassfields with a dense linguistic diversity. About 7 languages or small language clusters are spoken in

13 villages. The research was an interdisciplinary collaboration between linguists, anthropologists, geographers and historians. Their collaborative work tried to understand how a small region like Lower Fungom could be so linguistically diverse.

Linguistically, the research was concerned with examining how the different lexicogrammatical codes of the region relate to each other and the codes spoken in the wider area. To achieve this, comparative data was collected through elicitation in the domain of grammar to explain the historical relation among the languages in question. The results obtained from the comparative data show that all the languages of the Lower Fungom show noun class systems that can be interpreted as "reduced" variants of the well-known Bantu-type noun class systems. The comparative study shows that some of the languages are related, but it also shows some degree of divergence, for example the Missong variety.

Ethnographic data was collected on oral history, marriage patterns, and composition of village secret societies and lists of chiefs who had led a village. Good (2014) points out that ethnographic data such as oral histories, especially in pre-literate societies, are sometimes unreliable as evidence of historical fact. The author notes that in literate societies, genealogies and succession lists tend to be fixed in written form and can therefore not easily be changed. By contrast, in oral societies the list can be altered to reflect new social realities. A case in point from Ghana is described by Goody, & Watt (1962:310). The mythical founder of the Gonja people shifted from having 7 sons to having only 5 within a span of 60 years, following a change in political organisation of the group from comprising 7 divisions to 5. Therefore, lists of chiefs in Lower Fungom are not to be taken as literal retellings of the names of those who held position of chief but rather as an expression of history given by a certain community leadership to support their claim of authority. On the discrepancies noticed in the chiefs' lists, Di Carlo (2011:74) proposes to compare chief lists across villages by examining their structural time depth. Di Carlo observes that a typical chief list in the area consist of 6 to 8 names, whereas the chief list of Lower Fungom consists of just 4. Based on ethnographic information and recent historical background information, the author suggests that Missong may be a very recent formation of villages formed from groups which once spoke different languages. Missong's linguistic diversity could be due to its "shallow" formation from groups which once spoke different languages but more recently shifted to a Mungbam

variety, presumably absorbing influences of other languages as part of the process of kin group federation. Thus a "mixed" Misong history may have led to a "mixed" linguistic variant.

The village is on top of a hill that is difficult to access, like some villages in Lower Fungom, which confirms that it is a recent settlement. For the last 150 years or so, the region of Lower Fungom, with its easily defensible hill-top villages, has served as a refugium for people from many different locations and has thus become a source of linguistic diversity (Di Carlo, 2011).

### **3.5.3.1 Insights from Good & DiCarlo**

The methodologies adopted by the authors in the case study above were elicitation for comparative study of the historical development of the codes spoken in the Lower Fungom area. They also used critical ethnography to understand the composition of the villages and the possible cause(s) of the diversities among such a small settlement. As discussed above, the methods yielded data on marriage patterns, early movements into the area, mystical practices and the roles of chiefs who had ruled the villages in the past. The geographical data collected made it possible for the authors to place each of the villages as either most recent migration to the area or perhaps a long period of migration. The comparative data helped in classifying the noun classes into different classes which also show their language families and relationship to other larger languages.

What I have taken from this literature are the similarities in settlement and their practices, example the way their chiefs are selected, the powers and immunities of the chiefs, their mystical practices, etc. The methods adopted by the authors such as the ethnography of the community which helped in solving the mysteries of the diversity throws light on understanding the Q̄r̄ settlements. This has helped to understand how a movement in and out of the community has shaped the languages of the people. Though I may not be able to prove the differences based on noun classes like the case of the Lower Fungom (as this is not the focus of the thesis), I have been able to prove the relationship patterns in the community. This fact has also made it possible to understand why there are claims of speaking different languages when they are actually mere variants of the Q̄r̄ language.

### 3.5.4 Alice Wachira (2006) Multilingualism in Kenya.

Wachira (2006) focuses more on the individual experiences of multilingualism rather than the wider societal context. Working in a multilingual situation in Kenya with at least three languages in use - English, Kiswahili and at least one of the various indigenous languages, Wachira explains that each of the three languages play different but vital roles in the society, which motivates all Kenyans to speak at least three languages. She emphasises that there are domains of use for the three languages and that speech communities are governed by communication rules that stipulate how and what to say in particular contexts (Fishman, 1972). Speakers must select the language or style that best suits the context. Particular situations thus require codes or styles that suggest respect, friendliness, anger, rejection, or secrecy. In the context of bilingual societies, researchers have observed that people switch between languages according to topic and situation in much the same way as monolinguals switch between styles (Wachira, 2006).

The strategy of code-switching can be motivated not just by a need to communicate, but also other objectives, such as emphasising a particular group identity, or conversely a desire to exclude others. Three kinds of code-switching are suggested by Wachira. The first is speech in Kiswahili which embeds English words or expressions in the discourse. These are common in conversations between close acquaintances. Wachira argues that, when the speakers use English, it is not because they do not know an appropriate Kiswahili way to express the idea, but because they feel the English expression "fits the context" better. The following examples are from Wachira (2006).

#### Example 1

Hawa watoto wanafanya nini hapa na wako *supposed kukuwa* shuleni?

\*These children they are doing what here and they are supposed to be in school?

What are these children doing here and they are supposed to be in school?

Hakuna siku rais hukuja punctually kwa *meetings*.

\*There is no day president normally comes punctually to meetings.

The president never comes punctually to meetings.

The above examples of code-switching are governed by the participants and the situation. They occur between friends in the same sociolinguistic context in which speakers show a preference for one language at a time; that is, it is usually possible to identify the language-of-interaction which is valid at a given moment and until code-switching occurs (Auer,1999: 5).

The second kind of code-switching is English to Kiswahili. As English is the language used in formal situations, it makes sense that it would create a sense of distance between the speakers. Thus, Wachira suggests that in these instances, the use of Kiswahili is meant to reduce the distance between the speakers, getting the listener to "feel" the speaker's situation. In light of Auer's observations, it is not merely the use of Kiswahili that achieves this function, but its use in contrast with, and opposition to, English as the language of formality.

Example 2

- a). The visitors came so unexpectedly, *nahatuku juatu fanyenini* (and did not we know we do what). That we didn't know what to do.
- b). Njeri ni mkubwasasa. You don't have to accompany her to school. Njeri is big now. You don't have to accompany her to school.

### **3.5.5 Language Ideology/ Language Perception**

My initial plan for the study of the Oꝛo community did not include a clear picture of language ideology, but having stayed in the community for some months, certain behaviours cropped up by speakers. In our interactions, I wanted to know why they opted to use some languages instead of what I thought they should have used. The responses were always 'that is a local dialect and I don't want to speak it here'. The further I probed them the clearer it became that some of the choices they made were influenced by their perception of that particular code. This experience prompted me to include the questions on their perception of languages in the questionnaire.

My research question number three was to find out the effect of language ideology/perception on language choices made by members of the community in interactions. Some of the questions asked using the survey to understand how members regard the languages in their repertoires and how they feel about these languages were: 'which language(s) should be developed in the community, what

language would young men and women prefer to speak and what language they would prefer to speak with their children.

Although I am a community member who use most of the languages reported in this research, never had it crossed my mind that certain decisions I make daily in my interactions were simply ideologically motivated until I looked at my data. I had included some questions which could trigger issues pertaining to peoples' ideas about the languages in the community and language attitude in the questionnaire (see appendix). It was until I started the collation and keying in the responses in my laptop that I understood certain things I have always regarded as normal.

Ideology is used in many disciplines with different, but overlapping shades of meaning. My approach in this thesis, however, is to define the term within the context of its relevance to language use. Language ideologies have been a key factor in any language study in Nigeria and Africa. Language ideologies are a set of opinions or beliefs of a group or an individual regarding a language. Very often, ideology refers to a set of political beliefs or a set of ideas that characterise a particular culture. Language is a medium of ideological forces. Ideologies form the basis of the belief systems or social representations of specific groups. Gal (1992:445-446) observes that

“Ideology is conceptualized - implicitly or explicitly - not only as systematic ideas, cultural constructions, commonsense notions, and representations, but also as the everyday practices in which such notions are enacted; the structured and experienced social relations through which humans act upon the world”.

In describing language ideology, Silverstein (1979) states that “ideologies about language, or linguistic ideologies, are any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalisation or justification of perceived language structure and use”. This is particularly true where members of a given language group believe in the use of a particular language without questioning why it has to be so, (see Milroy (2001) on the belief of Standard English as the “purest” form of language).

While reporting on language practices and linguistic ideologies in Suriname, Leglise and Migge (2015) observe that language ideologies play significant roles in language use patterns in the Surinames. Citing (Irvine 1989b:255), they define language

ideology as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests”. In this case, the authors conceive language ideology as beliefs, feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds (Kroskrity 2006: 498). Such beliefs characterise a speaker’s feeling of the superiority or inferiority of a given language or variety or beliefs about the suitability of a language or variety in a certain domain or among certain groups of speakers. This ideology conditioned children’s responses on the number of languages they speak in Suriname.

The report of the survey shows that children in Surinames were very happy to disclose Dutch in their linguistic repertoire but were somehow reserved in reporting other languages like Sranantongo. It was obvious that the children had a positive view of Dutch as not just a language of the country, but the one they use in official situations. The importance placed on some of the languages eg. English which they felt was needful to enable them communicate with relatives living in the US, and French for communication among other French Guiana regions manifested in their desires to learn these languages. In fact some of them claimed they speak English but when enquired further to ascertain the level of their proficiency they were not sure.

The ideology of the children who took part in the school survey is also tested in some languages associated with ethnicity. Some of them openly rejected a suggestion to learning a language just because they did not belong to the ethnic group where the language originates. Lüpke & Storch (2013:94) observe that speakers’ language choices on a particular language or register to use in any given situation, and the choice to continue speaking or abandoning any language depended so much on language ideology that are shared by a speaker community or a group within the community. This submission was based on the authors’ encounter with a speaker of Hone and Hausa. Ideologically, the speaker references Hone as a language associated with magic and power, therefore disclosing such a language attracts consequences. Based on this ideology, the speaker prefers to pass on Hone to the next generation and is rather content with speaking Hausa, the language of his Muslim religion.

Such ideologies like the ones discussed above are not only relevant to the above communities but are actually prevalent in many languages in Nigeria. People choose different languages depending on what function he wants the language to fulfil.

Wolff observes that Africa is highly ideologised in terms of two main positions. This ideology stems from several factors which range from mental effects of colonial languages to language policies and individual preferences. This chapter argues that language choices and use in the Oṛo community are affected positively and negatively by the community's perception of language. Some of the questions that beg for answers are: what has caused these language perceptions? Why are some languages granted official recognition and others not? Could some of these perceptions be politically laced? Based on what follows, I shall attempt to answer the questions by looking at what has been said and done through the eyes of an insider.

### **3.5.6 Language Ideology in Nigeria**

Language ideology has been a key player in many facets in Nigeria. Some researchers have looked at language ideology in the media houses (Rafiu, 2015), ideology and power relations in Nigerian Newspaper Headlines (Taiwo, 2007), language ideology in 2011 presidential elections (Asiru, 2015). Another research on language ideology has been Olusola & Lawal (2013) who examine language ideology in the novel *Purple Hibiscus* by Chimamanda Adiche. *Purple Hibiscus*, according to the authors makes use of language to portray the game play of gender and the different roles they play in the novel. On the whole, the authors argue that the writer of the novel ideologically portrays men as tough, strict and always wanting to prove they are the head of the family. He expects everyone around to carry out his commands. On the other hand, the writer presents women in the novel as chaste, quiet, submissive and always allowing the husbands to speak first. Apart from the fact that men are perceived as hostile and domineering in Nigerian ideology, the ideology portrayed in the novel here has to do with the way men use language which is seen as a direct contrast with women.

Taiwo (2007) observes that ideology simply refers to attitudes, set of beliefs, values and doctrines with reference to religious, political, social and economic life, which shape the individual's and group's perception and through which reality is constructed and interpreted. The author adopted critical discourse analysis as a method to

understand the way discourses are used everyday for signification, power relations and development of new knowledge. In most interactions, speakers often bring with them different dispositions towards language, which are closely related to their social positioning. Kress (1990) stresses that the defined and delimited set of statements that constitute a discourse are themselves expressive of, and organised by a specific ideology. To this end therefore, language cannot appear by itself – it comes as the representative of a system of linguistic terms, which also reflect the prevailing discursive and ideological systems.

Most of what is labeled ‘language’ in Nigeria is borne out of the desire for ethnic or political independence. The desire to impose some ‘major’ languages on Nigerians is also a matter of power play. This desire has forced some Nigerians to feel that their language is less important and therefore may not be able to fulfill important public functions. The effect is felt most by less populated languages/ variations. One of the questions in the survey asked which language participants in the community would prefer to be developed. The responses were shocking as people chose English and Efik to be developed. When asked for reasons for the choices, they claimed these were the only languages understood by most people in the community. Many of the participants remarked that Oꝛo, the lingua franca of the environment was only a home language spoken by grandparents and the elderly people and therefore there was no point to develop it. The main reason that makes Oꝛo language relevant in their views is because it is a signifier of their identity and ethnicity. Below, I look at some of the factors which have fuelled language ideology in Nigeria.

#### **3.5.6.1 Language Perception/Language Attitude**

Whichever position a language user adopts in Nigeria is as a result of how the language(s) adopted is perceived. Several factors are responsible for these perceptions about languages in Nigeria. As a multilingual nation, Nigeria has over 500 languages and 380 ethnic groups. Out of these languages, the government in an attempt to select an indigenous national language made a policy that recognizes three languages as major languages of the country in addition to English which is the official language. This was done using such criteria as speaker number, level of development- i.e. in terms of orthography and texts. This move by government was seen as unpatriotic by the speakers of the so called “minority languages” and therefore makes the speakers

of other languages feel their languages are inferior. Under this sub heading, I shall pursue my argument by examining the perceptions along certain named languages in Nigeria.

### **3.5.6.2 Language Ideology Based on Prestige**

Ayeomoni (2012:12) observes that the functions assigned to a language or languages enhance the prestige of such languages. In Nigeria, for instance, languages like Yoruba, Hausa, Igbo and English have such elevated and prestigious statuses than other over four hundred remaining languages. Ability to use some or all of these languages gives people some added advantage in the nation, especially when applying for jobs. At the state level, various languages are assigned distinct functional roles at several hierarchical levels of usage, that is, each of the languages has domains of use different from the others. They are assigned roles based on their prestige and status. For a better understanding of this argument, I will consider some of the languages which concern this research in their different domains.

### **3.5.6.3 English Language Ideology**

English, as discussed in 2.2.7 is Nigeria's official language as well as the language of the colonialists. It serves as a second language to most Nigerians and just recently as first language to some children whose parents are very highly educated and perhaps also occupy a high status in government as can be seen in the questionnaire and participant observation reports. A lot of research work has been done on the role of English in Nigeria. It is very clear that English language remains the language of instruction in school, administration, business, politics, and even in learning a trade. This has made the role of English indispensable in Nigeria as Nigerians struggle against all odds to acquire as much English as is possible. This is much more the truth as English holds the key to any higher institution of learning in the country Nigeria. Not only is English valid in the mentioned environments but is seen as the key to success in business and in securing a good job in future. This disposition of English has led to so many ills in the country as everyone scrambles to secure a credit pass in English language sometimes at all cost. This position was also observed by (Igboanusi and Peter 2005: 18).

Most people see English as 'an important resource for self-enhancement, social and political empowerment and access to

educational and job opportunities'. Consequently, several literate and semi-literate parents prefer exposing their children to the language even before they start going to school

The sad thing about the English language saga is that it is spoken by a low percentage of the population, most of whom are highly educated. It is even sadder to see good speakers of NPE claiming to speak English as they do not seem to have a demarcation between English and NPE. Apart from a few elites, large numbers of those who claim to speak English actually speak it the same way they speak their indigenous languages. Their version is completely different from the Received Pronunciation by all standards. This "elevated" position has caused many people chose to speak or adopt English as their language irrespective of the way they speak it.

Recently, politicians have "hijacked" English idioms to season their speech. Even when majority of their audience are people with a low level of education, they still prefer to speak English not because they are not familiar with the indigenous languages, but because they want to show off their superiority and suitability to their opponents. This is so as the knowledge of English is synonymous with intelligence or advancement in education in Nigeria. This research discovers that due to the importance attached to some languages like English, many parents opt to speak this language to their wards at home and also prefer the choice of schools where English is spoken as a default language for their children.

When asked why parents chose to interact with children at home using the English language, the responds was usually a chorus of *we want them to do well at school*. The understanding of the parents is that having a good communication skill in English helps the children to perform well academically. The quest for a 'credit pass' in English language pushes some parents to seek assistance from a negative angle of either paying to influence the scores of their wards or bribing their way to the higher institutions. In spite of the seeming invasion or overwhelming influence of English over other languages in Nigeria, the truth remains that the language is 'firmly entrenched' in the psyche of most Nigerians as a language of prestige (Igboanusi 2008:266).

#### 3.5.6.4 Language Policy

The other thing that has led to ideology and language attitude in Nigeria as well as the community is the “less” effective language policy by the federal government of Nigeria. Provisions in language policy could have an impact on the choices of language and use. The consequences of language policy extend to families, schools and the general public. Besides, it is a known fact that prevailing language policy and ideology have impacts on the scope of multilingualism in society as well as how various languages and dialects are valued and used. Igboanusi (2008:253) observes that “Societal choices in multilingual contexts are varied and may include language policy decisions on an official language, national language, language of education, the parliament, law court, commerce, media, etc”. As I have stated earlier, the upgrade status of some languages into major and minor and regional languages has caused speakers to choose to speak a language which will make them more relevant than the local or regional languages. For instance, majority of people who ascend the throne of power in Nigeria are basically Hausa speakers from the Northern angle of the country. Today, it is not uncommon to see some daring politicians code-switch into Hausa to gain support from the ruling majority. Aside from the politicians, business people see this as an avenue to get more customers to patronize them which of course will result in more gain. Although the learning and or acquisition of any language to me is positive, yet the pronouncement of these languages, the promotion and government role are absolutely considered a negative influence over other languages.

#### 3.5.6.5 Grouping the Country into Geopolitical Zones

Aghehisi (1984) observes that the sub division of the country into regions like the North, South, East and West has contributed to some attitudes to language. For instance, in the North, so many other ethnic groups which are not Hausa are being forced to learn Hausa which is a language associated with power. Since this is the case, if people are asked to choose which language they speak or like, their best bet might be Hausa. Aside from this, it is very likely that one could get a job as Hausa, Igbo or Yoruba graduate teacher because these languages are included in the policy and also taught in institutions like the universities. The case is not the same as far as

minor languages are concerned. Given the rate of unemployment in Nigeria, people are forced to learn one of these languages to the detriment of the many others.

### **3.5.6.6 Ideologies Associated with Ethnic Languages**

Adegbija (1997) points out that Nigeria has over 250 ethnic nationalities and about 400 indigenous languages in addition to English, French and NPE. There is often a misunderstanding and misinterpretation of language and ethnicity as there appears to be no clear dichotomy between the two in Nigeria. In view of this statement, Igboanusi (2008: 258) asserts that a “strong motivating factor for language choice is ethnic identification. People from the same ethnic group are usually elated to use their language for identification outside their “MT homeland”. Citing Adegbija (2004: 113) the author maintains that such ecstatic behaviour in language use is not restricted to Nigeria. However, when placed within the African context, this kind of language use becomes an extension of kinship relationships, which exist in this part of the world. Sometimes, this relationship is so extended that one who is only from the same ethnic group as the other person is perceived as his/her ‘brother’ or ‘sister’ simply because they speak the same language. They may not have come from the same state or even to have known each other (Igboanusi 2008:258).

A lot of people speak their ethnic languages because language truly is their identity. For instance in the Ọrọ community where a language is most times synonymous with place names, village people claim to speak the language that corresponds to the name of their village or clan names irrespective of what people think. The desire to preserve ethnic languages has not only promoted the languages but has actually influenced the way the people speak these languages which impinges on the choices they make.

Over the years, the Efik language and ethnicity have been claimed by the Ọrọ people despite the fact that geographical location places both people and languages at two different ends. The Efik is basically spoken by the Efik people of Cross River State on the other end of the Atlantic Ocean while the Ọrọ language is spoken by the Ọrọ people of Akwa Ibom State on the opposite side of the Atlantic. Rather than claim affinity and ethnicity with the Ibibio or Anaang people who occupy the same state with them, the Ọrọ people chose to rather affiliate with the Efik. Even as this thesis is being written, the Ọrọ people still write letters, court documents and other official

matters which are not written in English in Efik. But I am yet to see any official document written in Ọrọ or Ibibio by the members of the Ọrọ community despite the fact that they are multilingual in all the languages within the region. The choice of Efik as a medium of writing and even the claim of ethnicity with Efik rather than Ibibio is simply ideological.

### **3.6 Contributions of Works Reviewed to the Thesis**

So, how has the literature review impacted the current research? In case someone raises an eyebrow on the above question, it should be understood that the works discussed above provide a strong framework for the study of multilingualism and multicultural practices in Ọrọ. The three West African case studies share the following salient features:

- 1). Data collection methods adopted by the authors yielded results which helped in analysis of the communities under review. Therefore, I have chosen some of the methods for data collection in the Ọrọ community.
- 2). All the studies are basically connected to small scale multilingualism.
- 3). They deal with Africa and West Africa in particular apart from one.
- 4). They deal with areas in which multilingualism is the norm
- 5). Similar factors cause, or contribute to multilingualism, for instance exogenous marriages, child fostering, migration across linguistic borders, playgroup language acquisition, etc.
- 6). The repertoires in the studies are daily living practices without specific language boundaries; if there are such boundaries at all, they have been encouraged for political and social reasons.

### **3.7 Code Choices and Language Use in Multilingual Settings**

Apparently, the study of the alternate use of two or more languages in conversation has developed broadly in two distinct but related directions: Structural and Sociolinguistic. The structural approach to code-switching is primarily concerned with its grammatical aspects. Its focus is to identify syntactic and morphosyntactic constraints on code-switching. The sociolinguistic approach, on the other hand, sees code-switching basically as a discourse phenomenon focusing its attention on issues such as how social meaning is created in code-switching and what specific discourse functions it serves. Although there are series of research work on code-switching,

most of these works have rather created problems of definition. Not all researchers use the same terms in the same way, or do they agree on the territory covered by terms such as code-switching, code-mixing, borrowing, or code-alternation (Myers-Scotton, 1992; Poplack, 1980, 1981; Kachru, 1978). The problem of definition might be as a result of how individual researcher defines the word *code*. Thus, the following definitions are considered for a proper understanding of the present work.

Milroy and Muysken (1995:7), for example, define code-switching as “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation”. By this definition, they use code-switching as a cover term under which different forms of bilingual behaviour are subsumed. Likewise, Myers-Scotton (1993b) also uses code-switching as a cover term to refer to “alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation”. Gumperz (1982:59) refers to the term as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems”.

The dynamic ways in which language choices are employed in conversation in multilingual communities have been described as creative. Being a sociolinguistic study, this thesis regards code-switching and code-mixing as a sociolinguistic phenomenon, features of language in contact, and the effects of bilingualism and multilingualism. As a sociolinguistic phenomenon, code-switching involves rapid switch or change from one language to another, depending on the situations, audience, subject matter etc.

As a common feature in bilingual and multilingual societies, it is a situation where a speaker changes from one language code to another in a speech event. Lyons (1977) defines code-switching as the ability of members of a language community to pass from one dialect or variety of the language to another according to the situation of utterance. He adds that code-switching is not restricted to language communities employing two or more languages or dialects. He cites the example of a conversation between an executive and his secretary, where there are code shifts from English to Spanish, and then back again to English in the course of a single conversation. In this situation, Spanish is employed for casual and friendly discussion while English is for all formal discussions. Code-alternation in conversation has been defined as a

"relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipient of the resulting complex signs is in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such" (Auer, 1995:116).

In another publication Auer(1999:1) discusses the dynamic aspects of speech in a bilingual community. He says that the term "code switching" refers to those situations where the juxtaposition of two codes is perceived and interpreted by participants as a locally meaningful event. Other terms he uses include "language mixing" and "fused lects", but this thesis shall treat these two terms as interchangeable. My study adopts Auer's model of code-switching as a rather useful paradigm in interpretive sociolinguistic studies. Hence, I will use the term 'code' here in a general sense to refer not only to different languages, but also to varieties of the same language as well as styles within a language. It can explain how speakers perceive and use the codes in question. This model argues that the contrast between one code and another is meaningful and can be interpreted by the participants as indexing either some aspects of the situation or some feature of the code-switching speaker (Auer, 1999:4). Auer's analysis follows the tradition of Gumperz (1982) which describes code switching as "socially ordered discourse strategies which index localised norms and values". Attention is therefore paid to the ways individuals strategically use the codes in their bilingual repertoires to achieve specific interactional goals.

Multilingual situations result in the mixing of the linguistic codes of different languages, which in turn may result in lexical borrowing and the spreading of grammatical features. In this subsection, I shall present different types and theories of language mixing and illustrate them with examples from the Oromo community . Although a great deal of research on code-switching and language mixing have been done, most of these studies do not deal with the situation in Africa. My study adopts the model of "conversational code-alternation" since it provides the tools needed to capture the code-switching situation in the Oromo community . "Conversational code-alternation", as used by Auer (1995:16), is an umbrella term which covers concepts such as code-switching, language choice, transfer, insertion, etc., and can account for different bilingual switches in various communities and settings. Auer explains that any theory of bilingual speech must be able to account for the Who, the Why, the When and the Where:

- 1). Who does the switching? In a bilingual setting, language switching is an essential part of understanding the conversation, and this cannot be done without understanding the person who does the switching in the conversation. Bearing in mind that such factors as age, gender, educational attainment and interlocutors affect language choice, there is a need to establish the person(s) involved in the switching.
- 2). Why does the speaker switch? To understand and give an accurate account of the switches, we need to find out why the speaker switches. Did the speaker switch to accommodate someone who had just walked into the conversation, or was the switch meant to exclude someone?
- 3). When does the switch occur? The time and position at which a switch occurs is important in bilingual conversation.
- 4). Where an event takes place has certain influences on the way language is used.

Discourse-related code-switching is a part of effective daily use of language, and it is a way in which bilinguals create meaning in interaction. Auer warns that the significance of code-switching should not be equated with the "social meaning" of the languages of a multilingual's repertoire as is often asserted in diglossic situations. Although the languages involved in code-switching (CS) may index some form of extra-conversational information, CS can never be analysed as a mere consequence of such indexing without considering the sequential position in which it occurs and from which it receives its meaning (Auer, 1999:4). My analysis will therefore investigate code-switching with an understanding of the setting and its implications for the on-going conversation. It will provide a clear picture of the intra- and inter-sentential code-switching as it occurs in my setting . Looking at , and investigating , code-switching in this way will help us to better understand the multilingual setting of the Oromo speech community.

### **3.7.1 The Markedness Model - Myers-Scotton (1993)**

Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa.

The Markedness Model, which shows some resemblance to Wachira's approach, to account for patterns of code-switching. Intended originally to describe code-switching as a widespread communicative practise in urban areas in Africa, the model

has gone beyond its original application and has been used in studies such as that on code-switching by African Americans (Edwards, 1994:199). The Markedness Model, said to be a continuation of Gumperz (1982:55), consists of four types of code-switching:

1. Code-switching as a sequence of unmarked choices
2. Code-switching itself as the unmarked choice
3. Code-switching as a marked choice
4. Code-switching as an exploratory choice

Earlier, Gumperz (1982:75–84) had proposed a number of discourse functions that code-switching is seen to realise.

- Quotations
- Addressee specification
- Interjections
- Re-iteration
- Message qualification and personalisation versus objectivisation.

An important part of Gumperz's approach is the symbolic distinction between "we" vs. "they" embodied in the choice of codes. It implies that the minority language tends to be regarded as the "we" code and the majority language as the "they" code. The "we" represents in-group, informal, personal activities, while the "they" code tends to signify out-group, more formal relations. As an extension of this model, the Markedness Model assumes that speakers make choices because of their own goals while at the same time being aware of the roles played by participants (Myers-Scotton, 2005:158).

The Markedness Model can be viewed as an attempt to create a principled procedure which both speakers and listeners can use to judge any linguistic choice that they might make, or hear, as marked, given the interaction in which it occurs. In her explanation, Myers-Scotton (1993) says as part of our communicative competence, and based on experience in our communities, we come to develop a sense that there is a continuum of choices for a particular interaction type that are considered unmarked. Unmarked choices are those that are expected. They therefore signify the set of rights and obligations (RO) shared across groups of speakers. Thus, when a speaker makes

the unmarked choice, he/she is causing no social ripples because participants expect such a choice, based on experience. The Markedness Model tries to explain not only the marked, but also the unmarked, choices made by speakers, and why they make them. Marked choices are those that are not predicted by the RO set that is "in force" (valid) in that setting. The following example from my own data will illustrate unmarked and marked choices.

**Example 3** (from fieldnotes)

Speaker 1: **Afiang omu idongo m onu ataata afiang idomo**,bod no mata wad, **Abasi maano enyin okiike**.

This month we are in has been a very trying month , but, no matter what , God will give us victory. [Bod no mata wad] is English spoken in the Q̄̄ way.

Speaker 2: **Eh! Okong osim nkang ovu? Naama emenu Basto omi**, who is very pawaful, **amfak sughu amala komo**.

Ah! Do you have similar experiences? But not for my Pastor who is very powerful I do not know what could have happened to me.

Speaker 3: **Mmokodiyogho urue iba tongo nkumbak ku** fastin. Brofetes **okodogho yak nka** fastin for tu weeks with very selious prayer **omu otongho ufod okoesi**.

It is almost two weeks now since I commenced fasting. The prophetess said I should embark on fasting for two weeks coupled with a very serious prayer which commences at midnight.

English =plain

Q̄̄ =bold.

The above example shows the unmarked language as Q̄̄, which is the expected code for the conversation, given the fact that the three participants share similar ROs, and the marked code is English. However, it is difficult for me to accept that the so-called "marked choice" (English) was unexpected. In a community where knowledge of many languages or repertoires is an advantage, and in a situation where English is viewed with prestige, being used especially by literate people, I do not consider its use here as a marked choice.

The premise in Myers-Scotton is to show that in a conversation, there is the main language (unmarked) and switches from the main language of the conversation

(marked). Her investigation centres mostly on Kenya and Zimbabwe where she reflects on the social motivations for code-switching between Swahili and English by Kenyan workers. Her study reveals that language choice conveys a message about the communicative events in which it takes place. However, she defines those instances where societal norms on the expected code for particular communicative events are met as unmarked, and those that violate the norms as marked. A view of the Markedness model is that code-switching is always an unmarked choice and therefore very suitable to competent bilinguals. Despite the criticisms of this model by some linguists, Myers-Scotton makes very salient contributions to the study of code-switching through the following observations:

- a). Code-switching is a strategy used primarily by competent bilingual speakers
- b). In multilingual environments, code-switching is often an expected (unmarked) choice
- c). In some instances, it can also fulfil distinct (marked) interactive functions
- d). Code-switching might not be as a result of limited individual linguistic competence.

### **3.7.2 Matrix Language Frame Model -Myers-Scotton (1993a)**

Another influential model of code-switching is the Matrix Language Frame Model, developed by Myers-Scotton (1993a) in order to account for the structural aspects of the intra-sentential code-switching. This model sees one language determining the morpho-syntactic properties of the utterance. To achieve this, the model differentiates between dominant and embedded languages. The matrix language is the one the speaker is most proficient in, often, but not necessarily, a first language. This is a language which is regarded as unmarked in certain social settings for conversation. In many instances, the matrix language is also dominant in the society at large. An observed problem of the matrix model is that discussion of the strength of a matrix language is ambiguous and complicated since matrix language assignment is dynamic; therefore a change within the same conversation is possible (Myers-Scotton, 1993:70). Myers-Scotton's response to this criticism is that from her data in Swahili, she notes in the case of "multiple groups (with different first languages) engaging in code-switching, not everyone's first language can be the matrix language; only one language must surface as the matrix language" (Myers-Scotton,

1993:218). So, in this context, Swahili is regarded as a neutral solution between speakers of different other first languages.

Earlier in this chapter, I quoted Lüpke & Storch (2013) and others to caution about the ambiguity present in the use of "first language". Myers-Scotton does not clarify the term by stating whether what she refers to as first language is in order of acquisition or language of the parents. In a situation where many people have more than one "first language", which of these should be the dominant language? In most multilingual settings, children grow up speaking two or more languages. In multilingual families where parents come from different speech communities, especially in Africa, the women may lose their language and take on the husband's language. Depending on how long they have used the language, it could eventually emerge as the first given the circumstance of speaking it better than the original first language. In my thesis, I use the term "first language" in order of acquisition, not in terms of dominance or proficiency.

### **3.7.3 Language Modes and Contexts from a Psycholinguistic Perspective**

As pointed out in the above discussion, a typical multilingual situation is the one in which different codes are used to achieve or actualize the aim of interaction. Therefore, modes, as used in this thesis, refer to the particular context between the poles of monolingual and thickly multilingual interaction in which speaker engage in interaction. The approach to discussing language modes in this thesis is derived from the context of the bilingual's language mode of Grosjean (1998, 2001, 1982, 2008, 2010; Grosjean & Li Wei, 2012; Soares & Grosjean, 1984). Occasionally, I shall also make some references to the Inhibition Control model of Green (1998) as well as Green & Abutalebi (2013).

Grosjean (2001) defines language mode as "a state of activation of the bilingual's languages and language processing mechanisms at any given point in time". A speaker can therefore be in monolingual, bilingual or intermediate language modes. This thesis will focus on the various language modes of speakers of the Oromo community rather than processing in mind or the brain as it does not use psycholinguistic methods to measure the use of language by multilinguals.

A monolingual mode refers to a stage where a bilingual holds a conversation with a monolingual speaker in one language while at the same time suppressing, to some extent the other language. There are two instances where this can take place:

- Where the norm of the community or speech situation constrains the speaker to use just one language even though the speaker has two or more languages in their repertoire. An example of this is the rule in the traditional religion of some Nigerian communities in which libation is only done in a chosen language, or in church where prayers are said in a specific language.
- Where the participant knows more than one language, but only uses one language because his/her interlocutor is monolingual.

Speakers are said to be in a bilingual mode when interacting with other bilinguals who share their two languages. In this case, speakers are comfortable to mix their languages. In most cases, there could be a base language but there is no restriction in language mixing. This form of interaction is very common in the Oromo community where languages are mixed freely. The intermediate mode occurs when the interlocutor knows the other language, but for whatever reason does not feel the need to use the language. It could be that the interlocutor has very little knowledge of the other language or does not just like mixing languages. Soares & Grosjean (1984) argue that in both cases the speaker suppresses or deactivates the other language or languages s/he knows when in a monolingual mode. This conception, however, has been disputed by Green (1998), who posits that bilinguals cannot deactivate their other language(s) completely even when speaking with a monolingual, and that the bilingual could still call up the other language when needed. Green & Abutalebi (2013), in the adaptive control hypothesis, observe that language control processes adapt to the recurrent demands placed on them by interactional context. The authors identified eight control processes which are used in interaction by speakers. These processes are goal maintenance, conflict monitoring, interference suspension, salient cue detection, selective response inhibition, task engagement and task disengagement, and finally, opportunistic planning.

The argument postulated in the adaptive control model is that there is a limit to what can be controlled, especially given the fact that code-switching in some settings like the African context, including the Oromo community, are natural and sometimes

unplanned. One cannot control what one has no power to suppress. On this note, I follow Green and Abutalebi as the following example from my data illustrates.

#### **Example 4**

**Sọsọñọ eti eti ani mi esit nko idinyie fi mfin**

thank you very much, I am very happy to have you today

e e m about the developmental history of Ofi

**sugho Ofi akala ki mpọ si isuaha ate ma luoho amevei ke de m**

how Ofi (village) was in the past seventy years

**ma sighe Ofi ọsọla mfin m**

and the way Ofi is now

**ini mu ami mmana ku uduñ m**

when I was born in this village

**ufọk ame kọ ku ufọk utighe ọ ufọk amefuk atian ekebak o**

There was no permanent structure, not even a house with a zinc roof.

The speaker in the example above is a village chief who was addressing his subjects (villagers), 98% of whom are not fluent in English. Here he is in a monolingual language mode since he is addressing monolingual Uda speakers. As hard as he tried to deactivate the other languages and remain in a solely monolingual state, this was not possible and he ended up using at least two codes in the conversation which should have otherwise been a monolingual discussion. This observation validates Green's claim that a bilingual in a monolingual mode cannot deactivate his other language completely and still partially calls on it when the need arises, even if unconsciously.

Earlier in this chapter I pointed out that, when bilinguals speak in bilingual mode, they use, to some degree, code-switching, mixing, interference and borrowing. There are identifiable stimuli or variables responsible for the language mixing of bilinguals. Examples include the interlocutors (the persons with whom the bilingual is interacting), the context and purpose of the interaction, the topic of discussion, etc. Canagarajah (2011:5) thinks that multilinguals treat all the codes in their repertoire as a continuum without separation from each other allowing them to draw from all of them for communication purposes. This assertion is true of the Ọrọ community as

people soon forgot what they reported and move from one code to another irrespective of how simple the interaction may be. In as much as bi-multilinguals try to be loyal to the known factors in conversation, for instance, the person with whom the bilingual is communicating, they sometimes fail as they allow themselves chat freely especially when the interlocutor is a close person. Variables such as the bilingual's age, gender and academic attainment are also very important determinants in considering language mixing.

### **3.8 The Ethnography of Communication**

The ethnography of speaking is adopted as a means to understand the community and the speakers beyond the world of participant observation. Ethnography is an important approach to understanding language use within a specific community. The daily verbal interaction of a community is seen by an ethnographer as a link between local knowledge and social meaning (Duranti, 1990). This model was proposed by Hymes (1964; 1974) and was later amended to form what is now known as the "ethnography of communication", a new approach to understanding how language is used in a particular community. The ethnography of communication argues that any study of language use must be able to describe and analyse the ability of the native speakers to use language for communication in real situations. In furtherance of his argument, Hymes says that speakers of a language in a particular community are able to communicate with each other in a manner which is not only correct but also appropriate to the socio-cultural context. The ethnography of communication seeks to understand the motives behind every speech emphasising that no discourse exists in a vacuum (Hymes, 1964; Woods, 2014). Understanding the language use of any community means understanding the context, who is speaking, why, to who and under what circumstances. Such an approach must provide background information to every encounter during and after interaction. The ethnography of communication takes into account the setting of the speech event, the participants in the event, the end or goal of the event, the act sequence of the event, the key of the event, the instrumentality, the norms permitted by the society where the event takes place, and the genre of the speech event.

The ethnography of communication is not only committed to describing how speakers use language in a variety of contexts, but with what they do consciously and

unconsciously. Conversations of a certain community reveal how members of that community actively collaborate in the everyday presentation and interpretation of communications by individuals and groups, in the light of prior contexts and experiences. Contexts considered in this thesis include the social situation and the unfolding of talk and actions, its sequences in relation to why a particular action takes place at the time it does, pointing towards subsequent actions.

### **3.9 Chapter Summary**

In this chapter, I have provided a detailed account of the various theories which I adopt in the research and analysis of the current thesis. I have provided background information on the multilingual situation in the world and narrowed it down to Africa as a continent, and to Nigeria, where my research is located. I have pointed out current terminologies which have been postulated by researchers and specified the choices I have made in the remainder of the thesis. Also in this chapter, theories like the bilingual language mode by Soares, & Grosjean (1984) and the Inhibitory Control Model by Green (1998) have been discussed with relevance to the present study. In the act of using more than one language in conversation, bilinguals must choose the appropriate language or variety which best fits the situation at hand. They engage in code-switching or code-alternation and Auer's theory of Conversational code-switching (alternation) has thus been adopted in analyzing the Oꝛo data. Other models such as the Markedness model (Myers-Scotton, 1995) were judged inadequate in accounting for some of the data. This is because it is somehow difficult to establish a marked base language in most of the conversation data. Apart from that, Auer's model fits the Oꝛo community context because it can account for bilingual switches and link the sequential approach in understanding the source and cause of the switches where they occur.

In collecting the data, other models were applied and these have also been discussed. The ethnography of communication by Hymes (1964; 1974) provided guidelines for data collection. Identifying speech events and speech acts, describing what is observed in them and interpreting them in emic fashion, from the perspective of the participants resulted in a lot of secondary data that can be used to interpret the linguistic behavior of the Oꝛo people. As a follow up to this, Fishman's "who speaks

what to whom and when” was also followed in understanding language use in the community.

## Chapter 4

### Methodology and Data Collection Procedures

In the previous chapter, I discussed the framework which drives the present research. Here I shall discuss the methods used in the data collection. Challenges faced in choosing the participants, choices of which village and houses to stay while the research was on-going are factors considered as crucial to the research and therefore are discussed in detail in the present chapter. Another issue discussed here is the case of translating the interviewer-administered questionnaire into four languages, Oꝛo, Efik, Ibibio and NPE. Ethical issues are also discussed especially touching upon how informed consent was obtained in the Oꝛo community.

Issues relating to transparency, ecological validity and reliability of data are also discussed in detail, as well as observer's paradox and my status as an insider-researcher. In addition, the chapter explains the various methods that were used in processing the data, providing information on the recording of video and audio, and selection and transformation of the raw video and audio footage. Also discussed are processes involved in the conversion of video files from its initial recording as MTS files to MP4, the extraction of the audio files and subsequent uploading to Elan. I discuss the transcription in Elan, the coding of participants' speech and the codes allocated to each language. I also discuss the statistical analysis in SPSS, Excel and other tools used in the analysis of the data obtained from the field.

#### 4.1 Gaining Access to the Community/obtaining Informed Consent

To gain access to a research field site can be very challenging depending on the manner of the research involved. There are ethical concerns as to the validity of data in research carried out by insiders (Baker, 2006:177). However, it can be an advantage if the researcher is an established member of the group she/he is interested in studying, as gaining access is then less problematic. This may not hold in all cases, but being a member of the community under investigation gave me more advantages than if I had been a complete outsider. Certain constraints still demanded that I pass through same processes as a stranger or outsider would have, but nothing I encountered can be compared to other accounts from researchers on the troubles and

disappointments they encountered while trying to get access to the research site (Chatman, 1992; Jorgensen, 1989). Jorgensen (1989) identifies two basic entry strategies, “overt” and “covert”. My research uses the overt form of entry as is ethical in the field of my type of research. I had to explain my interest in studying the community to the leaders and solicited their support. Covert entry is not considered ethical and therefore not supported by SOAS ethical requirements.

#### **4.1.1 Obtaining Informed Consent**

For an overt research project to be ethically sound, especially in areas that concern people and their practices, the people who are being researched need to know what the research aims are. It is important to emphasize that they are not required to talk to you and that there will be no repercussions if they do not. That way, it is their choice to either give or refuse consent. In research, the ‘informed’ element is as important as ‘consent’ and should therefore be treated with utmost care. Methods of obtaining consent differ from one research site to another, but the most important thing is for the researcher to react sensibly to his/her research context by devising a method suitable to his field site, while at the same time abiding by ethical principles. The following are steps taken by the present study to obtain informed consent for the data collection.

- 1). A preliminary visit to a former commissioner of communication and a spokesperson for the traditional rulers’ council.
- 2). A formal appointment and meeting with the Ahta Oꝛo , Paramount rulers, Clan heads and titled chiefs of the Oꝛo community.
- 3). Presentation of the consent letter from SOAS to the Ahta , which was subsequently read in English by the secretary of the council and orally translated into Oꝛo for the benefits of the entire council.
- 4). The Ahta detailed the secretary of the council, His Highness Ovong Edet Isemin to sign the consent form on his behalf.
- 5). Each village chief was instructed by the Ahta to detail the town criers to circulate information of the presence of a researcher in the community in all of the 32 villages that make up the community.

The above steps are the summary of how the informed consent for this current research was obtained. As mentioned in the forgoing discussion, each research site

has its individual challenges. What researchers read from guidelines of research ethics might not hold depending on where the research takes place . In the Orọ community , the Ahta gave his consent for the community to participate in the research. By implication, the Ahta's consent is binding on the community and for all subjects. Although this form of agreement is not unfamiliar to the community members, and even though the town criers had informed the various villages of the Ahta's instruction to protect me as a researcher within the community, I still took it upon myself to explain to the participants my interest in the community. I ensured that each participant consented (orally), before they could participate in the events. It was stressed frequently to the participants that they could always withdraw their participation if they felt too tired or unwilling to continue. The head of the households granted me consent on behalf of the other members of the household. At the end of my stay in the community, I showed some of the collected materials to the chiefs and told them I was going to deposit the recordings at the archive of my university (ELAR) as well as my home university at Uyo, Nigeria. The community was quite happy with that decision. They told me that this decision will allow their language to be accessed by a wider audience. Both the chiefs and the participants were happy with the data collected and demanded that copies of photos be printed and videos put in CDs for the community.

#### **4.2 Sample Selection for the Questionnaires**

The sample size for the present research was 200 participants consisting of males, females and youths chosen from the villages that make up the community I studied. Choosing the sample size of a research project is dependent upon the epistemological, methodological and practical issues involved in the research context. Survey research project aims at collecting data representative of a population; based on the information generated by the data the researcher can make generalisation on the entire population. But the truth remains that the researcher cannot study the entire population, so a selection of who is interviewed should be made by the researcher based on her/his research questions and the objectives of the research. The researcher should consider a range of factors in making the selection as any factor not considered could lead to a biased sample thereby negatively affecting the research. Holton & Burnett (1997:71) state that, "one of the real advantages of quantitative

methods is their ability to use smaller groups of people to make inferences about larger groups that would be prohibitively expensive to study”.

For the sample to be representative of the target population, I held a discussion with the village chiefs and explained what I wanted to do with the questionnaires. Based on my interest in knowing the linguistic repertoires of the community members, how they use them, with whom and where, I made it known to the chiefs that I would need 200 people from the 32 villages. For the data to be stratified, I wrote down the specification on the variables that determined who was to be chosen as a participant. Below are the variables:

- Gender: 100 males and 100 females
- Age: between 14 and 69
- Education: not applicable, everyone with or without education was welcome
- Religion: every religion was welcome
- Ethnicity: opened to everyone living in the community as at the time of the interview who considered themselves as members of the community.
- Languages: no language was excluded as long as the languages are spoken by members of the community.

The announcement was made by village criers and five centres were chosen for the interviews. These five venues were chosen to make it easier for the participants to walk or pay less for transport to the interview. Initially, the idea of being interviewed by a researcher did not make sense to the people but rather created fear in the hearts of the community members.

The first venue was Eweme village, the first village I stayed at for the fieldwork. As I have said earlier, the choice of this village was significant because most people in that village had known me during the first 4 months I spent there. I believed this would make things easier, or encourage other people who did not have close contact with me to trust me with the interview. Besides, during the period of participant observation, I had made video recordings of some of the participants. Interviewing them gave me the chance to compare the information with what I had observed and be able to draw conclusions about their linguistic behaviour.

This idea was successful, although I soon realised that for every five men, there was just one woman. I sought an explanation as to the lack of interest demonstrated by the women. The response was that some of the women said they were not able to write and so could not partake in the studies. I discovered that this problem was created by the message passed across by the town crier. His interpretation of the interview was like it was an official examination which people either pass or fail. I corrected this misunderstanding by going to the evening market places and informing the women that I was the person doing the writing; all the questions were framed in the local languages which gave them the choice to choose which language they wanted. It was in response to this that more women turned up for the interview, albeit still only 78 females as against 122 males responded. The sample is represented in Table 2 below.

**Table 3 Sample size and participant groups per year of birth and gender as percentage (n=200)**

Year of birth		Gender	
		Male	Female
50 and above	Count	18	11
	% within Gender	14.8%	14.1%
49-35	Count	53	22
	% within Gender	43.4%	28.2%
34-25	Count	35	32
	% within Gender	28.7%	41.0%
24-16	Count	16	13
	% within Gender	13.1%	16.7%
Total	Count	122	78
	% within Gender	100.0%	100.0%

### 4.3 Location for the Data Collection

The data used in this thesis were collected from two different locations in Oṛo referred to as urban and rural village's viz. Eweme and Akani Obio. Apart from the fact that these two villages are iconic to the community, one of them also happened to be a place where I had stayed during a previous fieldwork before my PhD. The first on the line is Eweme village, popular among the Oṛo community as the "seat of Ahta Ayara", the legendary founder of the community. This village was chosen as a reception ground for me to meet with the chiefs of the community. This was also the

village where I obtained official informed consent to conduct the research. I was not mandated to choose the village, but that was my first assigned place of resident by the Ahta of Ọrọ. After having spent nearly two weeks in the community, I also felt that the Eweme village was an ideal place for me to stay. Both the villagers and the members of the house I stayed were used to seeing visitors and were very free in relating with them and assisting them in the process of data collection. This does not mean that I was restricted to this village. Within the period of my fieldwork, I was able to visit 19 of the 32 villages that make up the Ọrọ community.

After spending nearly two weeks on the feasibility study, I came to understand that the community could be studied from two different approaches of *urban and rural* villages. The rural villages were studied from the Eweme axis that connects me to other very rural villages around it, while the urban villages were studied from Akan Obio axis that also connects me with the other villages very close to the coast. The community itself refers to the rural villages as *Atak Ọrọ*, Ọrọ term meaning ‘the very far, remote, and uncivilized part of Ọrọ’, and the urban people are known as *Tangsip*, a borrowed English word for “Township” which by implication means the “civilized people”. Two things have made Eweme village very significant to the Ọrọ people namely:

1. It is believed to be the first place their forefathers settled when they migrated to their present community.
2. The village holds the strongest political seat (Utighe odighi Ahta Ayara), a stool which the founding father of the community Ahta Ayara sat on. Till today, no Ahta (father) emerges in the community without sitting on the seat of Ahta Ayara for at least one day. In a nutshell, that is where the coronation of every Ahta Ọrọ takes place. The seat or stool of Ahta Ayara is a symbol that proves the elected Ahta is not guilty of bloodshed, but if he is guilty of shedding blood and he sits on the stool, the stool will cause his death in a matter of days.

#### **4.4 Interviewer-administered Questionnaire**

Two hundred questionnaires were administered in the Ọrọ community to participants. The questionnaires were designed in such a way that it allows the participants the opportunity to have their opinions written down. Past experiences have taught me not to leave the questionnaires with the participants, so I chose to fill the questionnaires with the responses of the participants.

#### **4.4.1 Justification for Interviewer-administered Questionnaire**

Three factors that should be considered in this type of study are the location, the literacy level and the world view of the community being studied. As a member of the community, I was already aware of the low literacy level in the community. This is not to say that there are no educated people in the community; on the contrary, there are many educated elite. However, most of these elites do not reside in the community due to personal reasons. My goal regarding the questionnaire was for the residents of the Orq community to read or listen to the questions in the languages they understand and make their responses. I therefore chose to administer several sociolinguistic questionnaires in person through an interview with the 200 selected participants on the following grounds.

- 1). It was not necessary for the respondents to be literate. Since the questions were read by me to most respondents, there was no need for anybody to write unless they chose to. This way, participants' fears of not being able to write down their natural responses was removed. A small percentage of the participants filled in the questionnaires by themselves.
- 2). Questions and responses can be clarified. Although the questions were framed in very simple language to aid understanding and clarity, administering the questionnaires in person allowed me to provide further explanation where the participants did not understand the intended meaning of the questions. In some places, I needed to provide examples for the participants to connect with the intended meaning of the questions.
- 3). Questionnaires allow probing for additional information. In addition, administering the questionnaires myself allowed me to solicit further additional information which it seemed would be helpful to the research in future.
- 4). Complex and open-ended questions are possible. I was able to incorporate complex and open-ended questions, since I was at hand to address any issue arising from the way questions are framed.
- 5). Answering of the questionnaire by intended person is assured. Another reason for administering the questionnaire personally was to reach certain targeted participants. As mentioned earlier, the questionnaire was administered seven months into the fieldwork, after which I had already made some contacts and recorded participants on video and audio in naturally occurring live speech acts. I wanted the questionnaire to cover as many people as possible who had already been observed and recorded. The

goal was to make the findings more reliable as the questionnaire data on self-reported repertoires and the actual repertoires of participants recorded on video and audio would be compared.

6. The questionnaires contain fewer blanks. Unlike in many self-administered questionnaires where participants would leave some blank spaces due to lack of understanding, these questionnaires had very few blanks. These were not because of participants did not understand the questions asked, but were intentional by participants not wanting to respond to those questions.

7). Participation is potentially increased by personal contact. My presence at hand to chat with the participants encouraged more people to willingly join the number of participants.

#### **4.4.2 Contents of the Questionnaire**

The questionnaire begins with collecting basic socio-demographic background information of the participants. Here, the questionnaire elicits such information as name, gender, religion, year of birth and occupation. This preliminary stage consists of five questions.

The next section concentrates on the linguistic profile of the participant. It is divided into three subsections. The first part is the self-reported linguistic profile of languages spoken by the participants. The aim here is to determine the number of languages in their oral repertoire and the degree of self-reported proficiency of their claimed languages. For this questionnaire, eleven languages/ varieties were considered which are commonly used in the community- Oꝛo, Efik, Ibibio, Anaang, English and NPE in addition to the varieties of Oꝛo – Ebughu, Enwang, Udah and Okobo.

The second part of the linguistic profile section contains sixteen questions designed to determine how the participants use their languages. These include questions asking for participants' first language in order of acquisition, mother's main language, father's main language, languages spoken with older relatives, languages spoken with siblings, spouse and children, etc. These sets of questions are particularly appropriate for this kind of study considering the high rate of inter-marriages, child fostering for all manner of reasons and consistent movement across the Atlantic and to urban areas

in search of jobs, practised in this community (see 3.5 Review of Related Works). Knowing participants' array of languages, their parents' main language, etc., can help us anticipate what the children are likely to speak at home. This is one way of determining the choice of language within the family domain. Fishman (1972) points out that understanding who speaks what language, to whom and where in area that is characterised by widespread and stable multilingualism (like Qr̥) can prove a very useful resource.

The next set of questions is to determine the status of migration of participants. The following pattern applies in these questions.

- Which village do you live in?
- Where were you born?
- Where did you go to school?
- Have you ever lived outside the Qr̥ community?
- If the answer to the above is yes, for how long did you live outside?

Eliciting this information sheds light on participant's repertoires and explains why a participant chooses one language or variety over another. From the data gathered, there are remarkable differences between the linguistic behaviours of people who have travelled outside the community and those who have always been in the community. Some parents prefer to send their children to school in another community. The question about where participants were schooled is to find out if they have been in contact with any language which may influence their choice of language in conversation. Furthermore, some parents move out of their homeland where their children were born to settle elsewhere. If the child was old enough to speak, s/he would have acquired the main language of the area. Moving to another environment will mean sometimes moving with the language acquired in the previous environment. If the new settlement speaks another language, the child will acquire this as well. So, knowing the history of parents'/individuals' movement provides answers to many questions that would have otherwise remained unanswered.

The next set of questions is about linguistic domain. The aim of this is to see which language(s) people use and in what domain . Arguably, the Qr̥ community is a multilingual community where speakers engage in all manners of language mixing

and code-switching. One could imagine that such a language situation should not have domains of use. This was the picture painted in my mind until I carried out the actual fieldwork. As much as speakers engage in habitual language mixing, they are also conscious of some domains where certain languages are used for certain reasons. Based on this, I introduced Fishman's (1972:244) domain of language use model to understand what choices participants make in the various environments in which they find themselves. Such domains include the home, religion, leisure, education and in government offices like the health centres. I included other domains relevant to the Qr̥ community such as language choices made during fishing, farming, in the markets and when out of the Qr̥ community. These domains are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

The nature of the questions in this section was such as to allow for comments and opinions from the participants, therefore the questions were of an open-ended type. Some of the questions asked involved which languages are often chosen during conversation at home between parents and children, grandparents, siblings. The aim was to understand language preferences in the home, how languages are chosen during conversation and how they are managed throughout it. Other questions involved the preferred language participants would choose when they are buying or selling in the market, when working on the farm, or when visiting the health centre. I also wanted to know what languages are used in teaching at the primary schools in the community, what languages they use when fishing in the river, what languages they discuss in during meetings such as youth meetings, age grade meetings and other associations in the community.

The last set of questions in the questionnaire was based on the attitude of speakers to the languages they speak. I asked questions about the preferred languages in their repertoire, what they deemed to be the best language, and which of the languages spoken in the environment should be developed to a standardised level. The other questions I asked touched on whether there are challenges in making language choices and if so what are they and how does the individual tackle the challenge. I also asked opinions on what languages young people and old people should speak more, what is the best language for communication between husband and wife, for

children to learn and which (if any) should be abandoned. The questionnaire is included in the appendix.

#### **4.4.3 Interview Language and Translation**

The questionnaire was developed to match the number of existing languages in the Oꝛo community. It was originally framed in English but translated by me into 4 languages – Oro, Efik, Ibibio and NPE. The questions asked were the same in all languages viz., Oꝛo, Efik, Ibibio, NPE and English (see appendix for a copy of the questionnaire). This was to enable every participant to understand the nature of the research and the questions they were expected to provide answers for. It may be remarked that the questionnaire was not translated into other varieties of Oꝛo, for example Ebughu and Enwang. As mentioned earlier on in the study, these two varieties are closely related with only minor differences in the sounds which are not sufficient to be perceived as distinct varieties by my own judgment. The other reason is for time and logistics. Translating the questionnaire into four languages was already time-consuming within the confines of a PhD project.

#### **4.4.4 Questionnaire Design**

The structure of the questionnaire came from Likert (1932), who developed the principle of measuring attitudes by asking people to respond to a series of statements about a topic in terms of the extent to which they agree or disagree with them. A Likert scale allows individuals to express how much they agree with a question making it possible for the responses to be measured. The Likert scale is used in rows provided for the degree of proficiency in each language such as “very good”, “good”, “fair”, “poor” and not at all”. The scale here refers to spoken languages only as most of these languages exist in the spoken form only.

The five-point scale of Likert is said to be the most widely used scale of this type. My research modelled the questionnaires after the Likert scale model with some modifications to suit my study. Apart from applying the Likert scale, the questionnaire was also modeled after two West African case studies: Fast (2009) which was adapted by Lüpke (2010) in her demographic study of the Bainouk community in Senegal. The questionnaire for this study was designed in a way that

the participants could present their views about language use, language ideology and to rate each of their reported repertoires on a continuum of usage. I compared the two case studies and discovered that there were many similarities between them and some of the research interests I have in Oṛo.

#### **4.5 Participant Observation**

One of the methods used in collecting data for this study is participant observation. The importance and relevance of participant observation in qualitative research cannot be overemphasised. Salient features of participant observation are discussed in the various literature dedicated to it. Participant observation has been recognised as one of the most significant techniques for collecting data in social research. Sukhia, et al. (1966:126) reason that participant observation is a research tool which deals with the external behaviour of persons in appropriate situations, controlled or not. Taking it a step further, Silverman (1993) remarks that “the social world cannot be understood by studying artificial simulations of it in experiments or interviews, for the use of such methods only shows how people behave in those artificial situations”. He went on to state that observation is a valuable method for studying the behaviour of individuals, groups and organisations. On the importance and indispensability of the use of participant observation, Robson (2005:310) adds that the method is unique in the sense that it provides a reality check showing what people do compared to what they say they do. This is an important reason why two basic methodologies were employed in the study of Oṛo, the first being ethnographic participant observation and the second being the questionnaire. These methodologies complement each other and using a combination of both enables me to see the difference or similarity between what people say and what they do.

I adopted participant observation as an initial approach to the study of the Oṛo community because I needed to mix freely with the community members so that they could gain confidence in me. Apart from this, it provided a flexible approach of gathering data (see Li Wei 1994:69). Actions that may otherwise be taken for granted or pass unremarked upon, but which might be related to social behaviour of a group or individual are captured through observation. Although participants sometimes think they are in control of their actions when meeting researchers for perhaps the

first time, they often forget the presence of the observer and behave naturally and normally. In my case, sometimes groups I was following would request that I leave my video camera in motion and sit outside while the event in question was going on. I noticed that just after five minutes of conversation, they would forget that the video is recording them and talk as if the video was not there.

#### **4.5.1 Observer's Paradox and Insider Status**

Li Wei (1994:83) points out that the phrase “observer’s paradox” has been applied with particular reference to the interview method of data collection in monolingual communities. The issue of minimizing the interference or influence of the researcher on the researched has been an interesting topic that has posed challenges to fieldworkers. This motivated Labov (1982) to redefine the role of an interviewer as a “conversationalist” rather than an “interrogator”. The current study adopted this method and I avoided asking any direct questions but rather got involved in ongoing conversation and in most cases I video or audio recorded such conversations or events. Another means I developed was to make myself always available, through visits to people’s homes, farms during planting, mills during the processing of palm oil and cassava. At some points, I offered to help with tasks even when I had no knowledge of how to perform them. I believe that these actions made the participants used to seeing me, and after a point, they referred to me as their friend. Moreso, as a member of the community I am aware of how most things are done in the community especially relating to data collection. Below, I present a brief introduction of myself as the researcher and the community member.

##### **4.5.1.1 A Brief Biography of the Researcher**

At this point I briefly introduce myself as the researcher, say something about my background, my personal relationship to the community and explain why I am interested in conducting this research. This is in conformity with the observation of Li Wei (1994:78–79) that “in existing sociolinguistic literature there is very little detailed documentation of the linguistic background and competence of the fieldworker and its effects on field relationships”.

I am a member of the Ọrọ community, a minority ethnic group in the Akwa Ibom State of Nigeria. Before the commencement of my PhD program , I have been an active researcher in the language documentation project of the Ọrọ language and people initiated by the University of Uyo, Nigeria which is my home university. I have also been a contact person to researchers working on some languages in the Akwa Ibom state of Nigeria. I speak NPE as my first language (in order of acquisition), speak English which I acquired as a second language, I also speak Efik, Ibibio, Anaang, Yoruba and a bit of Igbo. I both speak and write the Ọrọ varieties such as Uda, Ebughu and Okobo well and being able to communicate in these varieties meant speakers could trust me and this was advantageous to me in the field.

The ability to speak these languages was crucial not only for data collection, but also in translating the questionnaires, writing down the responses by participants and in gaining access to certain people such as the older generation, who, while they speak other languages, would want to be addressed in Ọrọ. Li Wei (1994:76) observes that native competence certainly helps the fieldworker to reveal some of the more minute linguistic details, particularly of non-standard language varieties. The ability to speak other languages used in the Ọrọ community, for example Efik and Ibibio, allowed me to permeate families and traditional occasions which would not have been the same if I had not been equal to the linguistic capacity of the people. In addition, my training as a Bible translator and participation in translating the Bible from English to Efik from 2006-2009 helped in polishing my Efik proficiency so that I could hardly be identified as a non-Efik.

However, I cannot claim that being an insider and developing a friendly attitude removed the observer's paradox completely. This is because some members of the community automatically change their speech habits the moment I am around, apparently to impress me. A lot of them imitated the way I speak, or the way some forms of English language are spoken and when I asked why, the usual answer I got was "I am also educated and can speak English". Some women who tried to come close to me developed a sort of complex and sometimes felt uncomfortable with me around. But about two months into my fieldwork in the community, I think the community members got to see me as just any normal person in the community which made them more relaxed and less conscious of themselves.

#### 4.5.1.2 The Researcher as an Insider

Banks (1998:8) refers to a researcher who shares some knowledge with the researched community as an indigenous researcher and goes on to say that:

“The indigenous-insider endorses the unique values, perspectives, behaviours, beliefs, and knowledge of his or her primordial community and culture. He or she is also perceived by significant others and opinion leaders within the community as a legitimate member of the community who has a perspective and the knowledge that will promote the well-being of the community, enhance its power, and enable it to maintain cultural integrity and survive”.

There has been much support of the indigenous-insider researcher as well as against it by the post-structuralists and post-modernists (Ellis, 2004; Gergen, 2000). There are instances where the senses of self-comportment seem to evade an insider-researcher/outsider researcher when confronted with issues in life which differ from what is contained in theoretical and ethical practices books. If an insider-researcher is not driven by transparency and fairness, their relationship with the community could affect their observations, interpretations, and representations of the data obtained. The account contained in this thesis is an accurate depiction of the encounters I experienced during my fieldwork. Some of the important aspects of my experience as an insider-researcher that I recorded in my field notes are provided below grouped under advantages and disadvantages.

##### Advantages

1). Easy access into the field site as well as to participants. Being an insider-researcher made it easier for me to be accepted to do fieldwork by the chiefs and community members, a process which involves many protocols. For instance, when I got to the Palace of the Ahta Q̄r̄ in July 2013, I was received in English, hearing that I came from SOAS. When the personal assistant to the Ahta, one Mr. Essang<sup>4</sup>, read my introductory letter, he quickly dismissed me by informing me that the Ahta Q̄r̄ was too ill to receive visitors. When I changed the language of the conversation into Q̄r̄ and declared that I would like to salute the Ahta personally since he was not well enough to talk about my project, I was granted express permission with many apologies for the delay. I met the Ahta Q̄r̄ in his sick bed, but in spite of his illness,

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<sup>4</sup> All names mentioned here are representative of the original names. The participants gave their full consent for their names or initials to be used.

he did hold a long conversation with me on his experiences in life. This meeting was only possible because I am a community member.

2). Choosing participants/community support. Most of my participants were people who volunteered to assist in the project. They were amazed that a young woman had chosen to study their language in England. This, to them, showed how important the languages in the community are.

3). Stimulation of natural interaction (Chavez, 2008:478). My appearance in the community could stimulate natural interactions without fear. At the least question, they could relate in detail any information that was relevant to me. Women and men were confident in talking about their relationships, trade, and life generally.

4). Detection of participant hidden behaviours. Some people are skilled at playing a double-self game. Although I had recorded most of my data on video, this aspect of being a community member helped me to know when a participant was covering up facts.

5). Understanding of non-verbal gestures. Although it is possible to observe gestures in the process of data collection, these hold more meaning to me as an insider and I can relate the gesture and its implications to the spoken data being collected.

6). Identification of unusual and unfamiliar occurrences. It is possible to identify a strange occurrence in the community based on the insider position.

7). Interpretation and understanding of data. As an insider, although operating within the ethical requirement of being objective, I could interpret a deeper level of meaning. I could compare the data collected by my other consultants to mine to determine accuracy. I also translated the data from the respective languages into English without the help of a community interpreter who may have perhaps added or subtracted from the data based on his perception of the data.

#### Disadvantages

1) Inaccurate understandings from the community. I was perplexed at the level of misunderstanding of my research intent by some members of the community. Some thought I was working with the government, which has cheated them by taking their crude oil without providing any amenities for the community. To these groups, I was an enemy. Others were hostile because the then member of the Parliament representing the entire Qorɔ hailed from my village. He is from Atak Qorɔ (a rural part of Qorɔ). He took their mandate and did nothing for the community in return. These grievances led to me being arrested at Afi Uda on the 17<sup>th</sup> January 2014 where I was

only taking photographs. I was taken to the chief's palace. He ordered my release and apologized to me. I eventually stayed at the palace for several weeks.

2). Mistaken identity. Since I backed up my participant observation with video recordings, many of the community referred to me as the 'video woman'. News of my presence soon spread to other villages and I was mistaken for a producer of Nollywood, the thriving Nigerian film industry. The false idea about my person meant that the community invited me to every occasion to make video recordings, even if it was some events considered to be prohibited for women.

3). As a researcher, ethical values demand that I do an objective study. It was sometime challenging to stay completely clear from making my personal judgments on the data. But as much as is in my power, I stayed within the confines of my data which has changed some of the beliefs I used to hold before conducting the research.

#### **4.5.2 Sample Size and Sample Selection for Participant Observation**

The sample size for the research consisted originally of 10 participants: (6 adults, 3 males and 3 females each; 4 youths, 2 boys and 2 girls each) from two different households and two different villages within the community. These people were selected and observed on a daily basis in various speech events for a total of 9 months. The initial ten people were chosen based on my previous fieldwork and contact with them in the community from 2009 through 2012. I wanted to build on the established relationship, which was easier than starting a new arrangement for new people to observe and developing a new relationship of trust. Allowing a researcher into ones' house to stay for months, always taking down notes, recording videos and sometimes audio could be very stressful to the house owners because they are not sure of what the researcher is recording about them. Establishing a relationship of trust and respect for the house members takes time and a lot of intervention by the chiefs. This was the first reason I went back to where I had already established friendship with members of the family.

##### **4.5.2.1 Choosing the Participants**

As stated above, ten participants were chosen initially from two households, one each in the villages of Eweme and Akana Obio. 10 people were my primary focus of

attention initially, but because I stayed with families where there was a network of relationships involving fathers, mothers, grandmothers, wives, many children, cousins, nieces and nephews all living within the same house, I ended up observing about 44 people from the two households I stayed during the fieldwork. This was advantageous to me as knowing the network of participants, that is the people they interact with on daily basis, can shed more light on the choices of participants. Milroy & Milroy (1992:2) acknowledges the fact that social networks relate to both the community and interpersonal level of social organization. In all, more than 44 participants from two villages were observed for the period of nine months. The sample contained 24 males and 20 females of different ages. Three males and three females were 50 years and above, eight males and eight females were within 35-49, eight males and six females were within 25-34, while the last group of four males and four females were between 16-24 years. The reason for the age variance was to observe the different generations of language users and note if there are differences in the way the older generation of grandparents age use language, and what significant differences might occur from the other generations. These participants' language use and choices, general behaviour regarding language, attitude to languages and social lifestyle were systematically observed, recorded, and questioned during the fieldwork.

The second reason for choosing the participants for the observation was based on their commitment to the project. Their commitment also ensures the safety of my equipment which was borrowed from ELDP for the purposes of the fieldwork. It is worth clarifying here that the participants were not chosen because of their eloquent use of their repertoires but rather because they were available, willing and also recommended by the village chiefs as reliable. Beyond this, the chiefs had mandated 3 young men between the ages of 25-30 to be my guides in the community, sometimes going with me when I needed to follow my participants to the farm, stream, markets and some social gatherings. So, at the end, I had more than 10 people to study, but my main focus was on the 10 participants chosen for the study.

#### 4.5.2.2 Tools for Data Collection

A part of the participant observation in Orq was recorded with the help of modern technological equipment. The video camera is now the most used equipment in collecting multi-modality data in today's world of research. Clemente (2008:178) observes that recording, be it audio or video enables researchers to 'observe the data somewhat independently', and produce an 'audio and video database', which can be used for 'detailed comparative analysis of bilingual phenomena.' In addition, recording 'captures the immediate context of the bilingual phenomenon' and makes the data 'available to support analytical aims'. Jewitt (2012) says "the qualities of video differ from any other form of data (recording). It provides a fine-grained multimodal record of an event detailing gaze, expression, body posture, and gesture. It is a sharable, malleable digital record in which all modes are recorded sequentially". Apart from this, I also made use of the audio recorder in circumstances where recording video was not convenient.

Richards (2003:175) suggests three areas which a researcher should consider before any recording takes place.

- a). Selection of equipment – some recording equipment is not compatible with some research environments and so care must be taken to choose adequate equipment for recording purposes. In my research, I had to go for equipment that could be charged manually without the need for there to be an electricity supply. I bought a car battery which was able to provide light for my equipment.
- b). Positioning the camcorder- the frame of the camcorder was set to record a full view of participants. It was such that it could capture their gestures should they raised their hands to the skies or bend down to scratch the toes. In this way, the recording could capture as much gesture and action as possible which could provide some explanations to why certain actions are performed.
- c). Choosing the microphones- although I made selection of some good microphones, the environment I studied was close to the ocean and it was always windy or raining. One microphone accessory I found very useful for the wind was the dead cat. This microphone accessory allowed me to record the outdoor events with minimal noise due its inbuilt sound proof system.

#### **4.5.2.3 Ethical Considerations**

For any research to be ethically compliant, the people researched need to know every detail of the research. Their consent should be offered willingly and not as a matter of compulsion. On this basis, I sought consent of participants before recording them or pointing a video camera and audio to someone. I did this every time I planned to record what they are talking about or about to do. After a while participants anticipated that I was going to ask for consent to record which made matters easier.

#### **4.5.2.4 Procedures for Recordings**

Each fieldworker has preferences for recording. I prefer to record in a noise-free or minimal noise environment where possible. I asked permission to keep my camera off the window or doors to avoid the sun rays and noise from opening and closing of doors. But since the research was conducted in a rural area, it was not possible to avoid the bleating of goats, barking of dogs and cock crows which are also captured in two of my recordings. Although I watched out for spontaneous events, yet I avoided recording at night as much as possible.

This current research can be referred to as video-based fieldwork, because it involves the collection of naturally occurring data using video cameras. The camcorder was used normally placed on a tripod while the recording is in situ. It has the capacity to zoom in and out depending on the distance of the event or object being recorded. I made provision for back-ups since electricity supply in the community was not constant. I had extra battery set for the camera, additional SD cards, a water proof cover in the case of rain, and a dust cleaner. A total of 21 video and audio clips were produced for participant observation of the Qoq community, but 11 videos have been selected and used in the analysis. This is because some of the videos are not very good quality and lack visibility due to when and where they were taken, and some of them have bad and inaudible audio. The video recordings are strong tools in confirming or contrasting the self-reported speech habits with the actual practice of the people. In this way, the data is more reliable.

### **4.5.3 Contexts of Observation**

In what follows, I shall provide detailed information on the overall contexts where the participants were observed.

#### **4.5.3.1 The Home Context**

The home context is identified as important in the study because the Qro community has a strong sense of family, caring, closeness and belonging. Members have a close affinity with each other, living in a large compound together and cooking meals together irrespective of the number of people in the compound. Several data were collected from the home context and this particular context makes up majority of my database for this research work. The only explanation to this is because I stayed in the same house as the participants I was studying which allowed me to access the activities carried out by the members. Most of the data recorded from the home context came from such settings as the kitchen during food preparation, in the sitting room when there was a family meeting or settlement of dispute between family members. Other settings include a shed in front of the house, a sit-out and the vegetable garden behind the main building.

Within this home context the family head, usually a man goes out to the village square when the town crier summons a meeting. On his return he is expected to brief his household on the outcome of the meeting. At most times the discussions centre on information from government offices such as the sanitation offices, tax offices and the police. The village chief also has the right to summon a meeting where he deliberates with his subjects on matters affecting the community. The family meeting is a gathering where every family member is in attendance except otherwise permitted to be away. The aim is sometimes to deliberate on how to move the family forward. At some other times, it is to address any wrong-doing to or by any member of the family. Such meetings are held fortnightly in some families while others are held quarterly. In one of the compounds I stayed during the research, I was privileged to attend three family meetings and recorded observations in my field notes.

Family devotion is another activity considered relevant to the study in the home context. With the population of the community being mainly Christians, many households in the community start the day with family devotion which takes place

before 6am. In the compound in which I stayed, it was a daily affair and the head of the family invited me officially to the gathering. I was able to gain insight into what linguistic choices are made during these events at the family and community levels.

#### **4.5.3.2 The Context of Religion**

Data was collected from two different contexts in the domain of religion. The contexts are the Christian Religion and Traditional Religion.

##### **4.5.3.2.1 Christian Religion Context**

In the Christian religion context, I present below some of the events I observed and recorded.

- Church services in four different denominations in the community. I also made a video of two services which lasted for over 1 hour each. I observed the Ministers' language choices at different points of the services, such as during special offerings, general offerings, preaching, Bible reading, singing and announcements.
- Attended two child dedication services where new born babies were dedicated in the community.
- Funeral services. To be paid one's final respects by a church during a funeral is very important in the community. So, hardly any funerals are conducted outside the church setting. In this research, two video recordings of funerals have been selected and used in the analysis. The setting and language used at funerals are different from the ones used in normal conduct of church services.

##### **4.5.3.2.2 Traditional Religion**

In this context data was collected from two traditional chieftaincy coronations, three traditional festivals and two wrestling competitions. The data for the coronation consists of sequence of acts from preparation which involves visitation from members of the community, chiefs from other parts of the state, visits of kinsmen, etc. The event for coronation sometimes lasts for a whole week before the final ascension to

the throne. Two hours and twenty eight minutes of video was recorded in this context and tagged oro014.

#### **4.5.4 The Context of Work**

The major occupations available in this community are subsumed under the work context. My aim did not concern the activities themselves but focused on the several discussions which accompanied the activities.

##### **4.5.4.1 Fishing**

Fishing is the major occupation of most of the community members therefore; I gave much attention to it. Although I have no idea how to paddle a boat, I was able to interact with a host of fishermen/women with the help of my guides. In two instances, I recorded myself on video learning the art of pinning fresh fish on sticks in preparation for smoking alongside the fishermen. I also video-recorded the fish markets and activities and transactions which traders on fish and other related items like crayfish, periwinkles, lobsters, etc., fulfil in their business daily. I made it a point of duty to interact with the traders on their wares so as to have an idea of the context and linguistic practices in the market place.

##### **4.5.4.2 Farming**

Apart from fishing, the community also engages in some small scale farming just enough to sustain the family. Since this area of work is also important, I made some recordings of farm work which range from farm (bush) clearing to planting of crops and weeding. I accompanied the farmers to farm on many occasions and also recorded agricultural activities on videos in the community. Planting of yam seedlings, cassava stems, corn and cocoyam were recorded live on video in the community. Sometimes, food processing mechanism like garri (cassava flour) which is a staple food in the community was recorded.

##### **4.5.4.3 Education**

Within this context, I visited some schools in the community and interviewed the principal and some of the teachers about their language of instruction. I witnessed some teaching sessions and also taught English and Literature to four classes in one

secondary school. This voluntary teaching granted me the opportunity to interact with students much more than if I was just observing. Language policy in Nigeria has always conflicted with actual practices. It was noticed that the language of instruction in the few schools visited during the project actually did not practice what is stated in the National Policy for Education.

#### **4.6 Informal Interview**

The informal interview is so named because it does not have to adhere to many strict protocols. Most of the data I collected from informal interviews came through general discussion in people's homes, sometimes through deliberate visits. At other times, it was due to an open invitation by community members themselves to visit their homes. At such meetings, I went without any camera or notebooks, although I occasionally made a few lines of notes on my phone without giving away that I was noting down some issues I needed to confirm from the already collected data or about which I would need to seek further clarification. At these occasions, the participants are very relaxed, with no camera to watch or pick up their actions. They could talk for hours about a wide range of issue from politics to marriage. Most of the ethnographic information I gathered came from the informal discussions I held with the community members. On some occasions, I deliberately dropped in a question or provoked a sensitive discussion related to an area of my interest and observed the conversation flow for a long period creating overlaps, language mixing and necessitating language choices.

#### **4.7 Data Processing**

The introduction of language analysis and data management software such as ELAN, Praat, Toolbox, and Arbil, etc., into linguistic research has lifted the standard of research output, facilitating the efficient transcription of video and audio resources as well as translation and annotation, and enabling such resources to be relevant and to a wider audience. Statistical software allows quick analysis of the data. The data for this research is managed in a variety of software selected for different purposes. In the following I describe the data processing procedures.

#### **4.7.1 Processing of Audio and Video Data**

Data were annotated in ELAN, (a multimodal annotation tool developed by the Max Plank Institute for the handling of speech), transcribed, translated and coded for the name of speaker, the language code of the utterance, free translation and additional comments. The coding makes provision for the location and topic of the recording etc. All annotation is then exported to SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) for quantification. The diagram below provides example of an ELAN annotation.

Figure 3 oro015.eaf

The screenshot displays the ELAN software interface for the file 'oro008a.eaf'. On the left, there is a video player showing a scene of people in a market setting, with an audio waveform below it. The main area is a transcription table with the following columns: No, Type1: timeline-ref, Type2: one-to-one, Type3: one-to-one, and Type4: one-to-one. The table contains several rows of transcribed speech segments, each with a speaker label (e.g., 'speech-Ekom', 'speech-lma'), a language code, and a free translation. The interface also includes a settings panel on the left with options like 'Automatic playback of media' and 'Show tier names'.

No	Type1: timeline-ref	Type2: one-to-one	Type3: one-to-one	Type4: one-to-one
	speech-Ekom	language code	free translation	speech comment
66	Pepper soup	eng	pepper soup	
66	Ben di yak ntem pepper soup	ibb eng	bring it let me make pepper soup	pepper soup
	speech-lma	language code-I	free translation-I	speech comment-I
67	Ke ben tem e, mbok ben tem	anw	please cook it	
	speech-Joseph	language code-Jo	free translation-Jo	speech comment-Jo
68	Edogho onyi ole ke ebre	orx	she is told to cook it with yam	
69	Se edogho ete dighi?	orx	how do they want you to cook it?	
	speech-lma	language code-I	free translation-I	speech comment-I
70	Ke ebre	orx	with yam	
	speech-Ekom	language code	free translation	speech comment
71	Ebi iyoyoyok kaifa, ebitem isi isio	ibb	it has to be seasoned first, it will be cooked separately	
	speech-Miracle	language code-MM	free translation-MM	speech comment-MM
72	Amekid pepper soup m mmedappa ndap mbanga pepper soup emi nko, olpodo eya etem enye	ibb	I have had a dream concerning this pepper soup, so go ahead and cook it	
	speech-Ekom	language code	free translation	speech comment
78	Anly ben di yak ntem	ibb	anly bring it let me cook	
	speech-Miracle	language code-MM	free translation-MM	speech comment-MM
74	Nam anye ado a little bit oily	ibb eng	let it be a little bit oily	a little bit oily
	speech-Ekom	language code	free translation	speech comment
75	Sorry	eng		
	speech-John	language code-J	free translation-J	speech comment-J
76	Ambung ukod	ibb	he has broken my leg	
77	U u uh, da afo anam die?	ibb	why did you do that?	

As can be seen from the screenshot above, the data is transcribed in ELAN before being exported as either tab delimited or linear data to SPSS where it undergoes statistical analysis. Managing the data on ELAN makes it possible to keep track of speakers and the various language code changes. These changes can be searched for in ELAN and exported to spreadsheets for computation.

Certain decisions must be made to represent the conversations in written form. I have chosen to transcribe them in a way that is faithful to the spontaneity and informality of the talk. The following are some of the conventions adopted.

- Punctuation:
- Exclamation mark: I have used the exclamation mark (!) to capture information obtained through rhythm and intonation analysis based on Halliday's method (Halliday, 1989). Example: eh! sai! (these express surprise and fear)

- Full stop. This is used to mark termination declaration of an utterance. It is difficult to consistently segment spoken discourse; I am using the intonation unit which in most cases corresponds to an utterance in these languages. Some indications are the falling tones and speed reduction.
- Commas: These are used to signal a brief silence; longer breaks are signaled by dots (...)
- Question marks are used to signal a rise in intonation or simple questions
- Fillers such as eh..., ihh..., ahh..., mm, ammm, mark hesitation, doubts, uncertainty or partial acceptance.

#### **4.7.2 Statistical Processing of the Questionnaire**

The two hundred questionnaires collected from the participants were exported from ELAN to SPSS and processed to find and interpret patterns of language use in the community. For example, this research has used SPSS to create a cross tabulation of year of birth with participants' level of education and gender. It has also been used to find the percentages of participants who speak, for example, Oꝛo as their first language, percentage of participants who speak English to their children at home, etc. The detail of the different stages of processes using SPSS and Excel in this research is described in detail in chapter 4 of the thesis.

#### **4.8 Chapter Summary**

In this chapter, I have discussed the methodology employed in the data collection for the research carried out for this thesis. Three major methods were adopted in the collection of data: ethnography participant observation, interviewer-administered questionnaire and formal and informal interviews. Participant observation was conducted based on Hymes's speaking methodology which by implication means that the data were collected from everyday life settings of ten members of the community who were selected and observed for 9 months. Speech events from which the data were collected included formal events such as church services, funeral services, chieftaincy coronations, youth meetings and child dedications. Those obtained from informal speech events included observation of kitchen chores with loads of conversations, family discussion, general interaction in the family, market

conversations, planting in the field, among others. Some of these events were video recorded and some had still photos taken.

Seven months into the fieldwork, interviewer-administered questionnaires were distributed to 200 members of the community, but over 172 were filled and completed by me on behalf of the participants. The questions were framed in English originally, but translated into four other languages viz Orọ , Efik, Ibibio and NPE. This was possible because I speak and write the four languages used mostly in this community, as a community member. Questions in the interviewer administered questionnaire were framed to capture the domains of language use in the community. Others were to find out if there were challenges in choice of language and language preferences. The questionnaires also contained questions to identify factors which influence code-switching among speakers and if there were social implications for language mixing in the community.

Informal interviews were also carried out. Some of these took the form of sitting out in the evenings with my participants and taking part in their discussion. In this case, they were more relaxed and could talk freely without fear or conscious of being recorded. Some of the questions I sought answers to included what I would have seen around the community which I could not understand and needed an explanation. For instance, I wanted to understand the reason behind the choice of speaking NPE to children at home by some parents instead of the parents' languages. Another thing I sought to have an explanation for was the insertion of slang and computer language which almost dominate the form of NPE spoken in the community. Words like *delete* which actually means 'dead', *programming* which is interpreted as 'processing' are actually heard in many speech events especially the ones which involve youths . Altogether, ten video files have been selected and used in this analysis and five of these files have been annotated on Elan to show the various codes, when they are switched and why.

## Chapter 5

### Demographic Information and Reported Repertoires in Oṛo

The discussion in this chapter centres on information gathered from the 200 questionnaires administered in the Oṛo community. The chapter begins by presenting vital information about participants: their demographic information which includes their names, age, gender, migration history and the level of formal education attained. It also seeks to know where the participants lived at the time of the interview. Other than demographic information, the chapter discusses the linguistic practices of participants such as their first language, parents' first language, etc, in order of acquisition. It also seeks to understand the entire network of participants such as who they talk to, work with, stay with, etc., and the choices they make when interacting with one person against the other. Questions which portray participants' language ideology are also included in the questionnaires. To achieve these, the likert scale model of questionnaire was presented to participants to choose the degree of their use of some fourteen languages and language varieties. This model consists five (5) options of individually perceived language ability to choose from with the first being *very good, good, fair, poor and not spoken at all*. The responses from the questionnaires are presented in tables, the data are collated and analysed quantitatively and the results are used in the analysis.

#### 5.1 The Purpose for using the Questionnaire Method

I have mentioned in chapter four that the two major methods of data collection – ethnographic participant observation and the survey used in this study are complimentary to each other. Nevertheless, the use of the questionnaire in a research of this nature allows for a wider outreach which leads to a large data collection. Many people which would not have been reached using only participant observation or the match guise methods are reached through questionnaire methods . This data then can be compared and more understanding of the linguistic practices of the Oṛo community can be arrived at. Many relevant researches have been carried out on multilingualism and related areas with the use of questionnaires and or participant observation and have yielded great insights see (Lüpke 2010, 2015) in collecting data for the work she did on Bainouk, Leglise & Migge (2015) while working on children

language practices and linguistic ideology in Suriname, Ihemere (2006) in his Port Harcourt study, Li Wei (1994) used participant observation in his generational study of Chinese immigrant in Britain, etc.

The survey study of the Ọrọ community provided insights into the linguistic practices of the community. In a nutshell, the statistical analysis reveals that four (4) main languages are used broadly in the community. Unlike the assumptions of some community members that Ọrọ is used in the home domain only and therefore being threatened, we discover that Ọrọ is infact used across the domains like religion, health and especially in traditional uses. Unsurprisingly, NPE plays a vital role in uniting the members of the community. Beside its unity role, some participants actually acquire NPE as their L1 which confirms the findings by scholars eg. Igboanusi (2015: 254) where he observed Akwa Ibom state as one of the minority states in Nigeria where people speak several minority languages in addition to English and NPE. Other language like English is spoken by people with some level of formal education. This is in sharp contrast with NPE which is spoken by both educated and none educated as observed by Uguru (2003: 64) that NPE is without doubt Nigeria's National language.

## **5.2 Contents of the Questionnaire**

### **5.2.1 Demographic Information of Participants**

This section of the thesis discusses the basic demographic information about the participants in the questionnaire study. Their migration history, place of residence, age, gender, educational attainment and religion are presented and discussed in turn in the following subsections. If we have basic information on participants' trajectories, we can obtain a clearer picture as to why they speak a particular language(s), as outlined in Chapter 2 on the link between migration and multilingualism, especially in Africa (Lüpke & Storch, 2013).

To understand the movements of participants, three variables were assigned to represent each group of migrations. "Sedentary" is used to represent participants who have always lived in the community, although most of them would have made some short journeys outside the community. "Returnee" describes participants who were

born in the community, lived there up to a certain age and decided to move to another community or city, but then for some reason they then decided to return to the community. “Incomer” is a term used here to represent participants who were born in another community but either through marriage, adoption or choice of place to live migrated to this community.

### 5.3 Migration History

The table below looks at the migration trajectory of participants. As already discussed above, migration has been identified as a huge factor that influences multilingualism, not only in individuals but also in the society (Bell, 2013).

**Table 2 Migration history**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Sedentary	103	51.5	51.5	51.5
Returnee	44	22.0	22.0	73.5
Incomer	53	26.5	26.5	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Table 2 indicates that out of 200 participants in the study, 103 (51.5%) are sedentary in the community, 44 (22.0%) participants are returnees to the community, while 53 (26.5%) participants are people who were not born in the community but had migrated from other parts of Africa to settle in the community. The highest number of participants in the study came from the sedentary class, that is, participants who have spent most of their lives in the community and may not have had influences from languages outside those spoken in the community. The returnees, on the other hand, have spent some time living outside the community; some of them are married to people from other language communities and their children have been raised speaking more than two languages. Most of the incomers did not have Oꝛo in their repertoires prior to their migration to Oꝛo, but, through association with speakers of the languages in the community, they could communicate to some extent, not just in Oꝛo but other languages relevant to the community.

Another grouping of participants includes those who were visiting the community at the time of the study. These participants were not included among those represented in the previous section on migration, because they were not part of the village community, but were visiting relatives who lived in the community during the research. They were assessed by the chiefs as qualified to take part in the study. These participants were grouped into the areas in the community where they lived at the time of the research. It was necessary to establish this, as some of the villages within the community have boundaries with other language communities.

#### 5.4 Place of Residence

Table 3 Place of residence

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Urban	138	69	69
	Rural	62	31	31
	Total	200	100	100

It appears more participants came from the urban part of the community than those from the rural area. Dividing them into two groups based on where they were residing at the time of the fieldwork is symbolic to the study. The rural parts of the community speak less of code-switching than the urban areas. This is significant to the study as the data will show in the analysis. The rural areas are still be influenced by regional languages and they have less of migrants settling in in the villages.

## 5.5 Education

**Table 6 Years of education**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
No formal education	15	7.5	7.5	7.5
FSLC	64	32.0	32.0	39.5
JSS3	10	5.0	5.0	44.5
SSS3	87	43.5	43.5	88.0
OND	4	2.0	2.0	90.0
3RD YR UNI	1	.5	.5	90.5
BA	16	8.0	8.0	98.5
MA	2	1.0	1.0	99.5
PhD	1	.5	.5	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Abbreviations used in education are:

0=No Formal Education

FSLC=First School Leaving Certificate (after 6 years of studying in the primary school)

JSS3=Junior Secondary 3 (9 years of studies)

SS3=Senior Secondary 3 (12 years of study)

OND=Ordinary National Diploma

3<sup>RD</sup> YR UNI= an Undergraduate

BA=Bachelor Degree

MA=Master of Arts Degree

PhD= Dr. of Philosophy

Some 87 (43.5%) participants in the study are holders of the senior secondary 3 certificate (SS3). The SS3 level of education is the highest level of education that is free in Nigeria. It is mandatory for every child in the community to go to school to at least the SS3 level with a scholarship being provided by the state government. Because this level of education is free and compulsory, many people, especially those within the age bracket of 16-35 or above, are graduates at this level of education.

Many of them were living in the community of the study and were therefore easy to involve in the study.

Another group is the people educated to FSLC which is the lowest level of education in the country. It is also mandatory and free. The majority of the community members were holders of this qualification. At one time, some elderly people enrolled in the adult lessons and earned this class of education. Although it is viewed as the lowest level of education, many are proud of this achievement as it enables them to read the Bible, and write their names when the need arises. Only a few members of the study population have no formal education; they mostly belong to the older generation as we shall see in the study.

Sixteen participants have bachelor degrees in different fields and two participants have the MA qualification, while one participant has a PhD degree. These various levels of education among the participants make the study relevant and important to the community; the study is representative across all levels of education in the community. It cuts across all levels of education and even involves people without any formal education. This means the opinions and experiences of all individuals in the community are considered.

## **5.6 Age of Participants**

The 200 participants were grouped into four age brackets of 50 and above, 35 to 49, 25 to 34 and finally 16 to 24. The idea of this arrangement is to see how language is used across different age groups and generation of speakers, following Li Wei (1994:88). The age differentiation was based on age groupings in the community. The age group of 50 and above represents the grandparent generation, the age group of 35-49 years old, adults who are active and the parent generation. The generation of 25-34 year olds are young parents, while the last set of adults 16-24 years of age are regarded as youths who have possibly studied in a higher education institution, managed a business or are in the secondary schools. Although the parents in the 35-49 age brackets are also active, there is a difference based on the roles they play which makes the group different from the age bracket of 25-34 which I have

classified as younger parents and more active than the first group. The table below provides information on the age range and gender of participants in the study.

**Table 7: Age of participants**

Age range	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
50 and above	29	14.5	14.5	14.5
35-49	75	37.5	37.5	52.0
25-34	67	33.5	33.5	85.5
16-24	29	14.5	14.5	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

### 5.7 Gender of Participants

Closely tied to age in terms of role in the community is gender. Gender plays a significant role in language study as it can lead to variation in language use (Pauwels, 1998; Romaine, 2003; Tannen, 2014). The table below provides information on the gender of participants in the study.

**Table 8 Gender of Participants**

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Male	122	61	61	61
Female	78	39	39	100
Total	200	100	100	

The study population as indicated by table 8 has more males than females. The time of the fieldwork corresponded with the raining and later dry seasons in the community. At such times, female members of the community are often busy in their farms while the men either clear ground in the farm in the morning and return home before sunrise or go fishing at night and rest at home in the day. This situation made the men respond to the call for volunteers for the study much more than women. Besides, the men were more enthusiastic about the study than the women.

## 5.8 Religion of Participants

Table 9 Religion

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Christianity	192	96.0	96.0	96.0
Islam	5	2.5	2.5	98.5
Other	3	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Of the 200 participants in the study, 192 (96%) are Christians. Five participants are Muslims and three are followers of the traditional religion. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, Orọ is in the south-south geopolitical region of Nigeria. The Muslim population in this region is at the barest minimum. Most southerners are Christians, and it is almost impossible to identify a Muslim from a Christian in this community from appearance only. Many residents think there are no Muslims in the community as there is no identifiable boundary. The few Muslims found were those who have migrated from the North of Nigeria, Mali, Ghana and Cameroon to settle in the area years ago (informal interview with Chief Abia on 23<sup>rd</sup> October 2013).

A few members of the community practise traditional religion. These groups of individuals see themselves as the representatives of the gods. They are sometimes praised by the community as the mouthpiece of the gods through whom the gods of the land minister. They make offerings such as pouring libations, kola nuts and sacrifices of animals to appease the gods if they suspect the community is suffering because of committing an abomination against the gods or humanity. For instance, the paramount ruler, in an informal discussion, informed me of the danger that could face the land should an Ukwong clan member kill another of its members unless the killing was accidental. Ovong Edet Isemin (personal communication, 15th August 2013). While there are divisions as to the existence and potency of the gods by Christians in the community, a handful of people still believe the gods exist.

Providing this background information on participants is necessary to prepare the readers to understand some of the data that will be presented later in this chapter.

Religion influences the way people think, speak and act. Some of the data on this domain prove that religion influences language practices in the community.

### **5.9 Linguistic Profile of Participants**

This section presents data on the self-reported languages spoken by participants. A table was presented to participants with 11 languages for them to choose from. A scale was also provided to rate the level of comprehension ranging from ‘very good’ to ‘not spoken at all’. To compute the responses, I assigned number values to each of the responses with 1 representing very good, 2 good, 3 fair, 4 poor, while 5 means not spoken at all. Below is the table for the computed responses of participants.

**Table 10 languages and Level of Speaking (n=200)**

Language	Very good	Good	Fair	Poor	Not spoken at all	Total
Ọrọ	132 (66%)	22 (11%)	19 (9.5%)	15 (7.5%)	12 (6%)	200
Efik	68 (34%)	63 (31.5%)	50 (25%)	16 (8%)	3 (1.5%)	200
Ibibio	48 (24%)	38 (19%)	53 (26.5%)	58 (29%)	3 (1.5%)	200
Anaang	5 (2.5%)	65 (32.5%)	20 (10%)	81 (40.5%)	29 (14.5%)	200
Udah	14 (7%)	58 (29%)	20 (10%)	43 (21.5%)	65 (32.5%)	200
Enwang	11 (5.5%)	63 (31.5%)	25 (12.5%)	35 (17.5%)	66 (33%)	200
Ebughu	15 (7.5%)	62 (31%)	27 (13.5%)	33 (16.5%)	63 (31.5%)	200
Okobo	14 (7%)	55 (27.5%)	10 (4.2%)	44 (22%)	77 (38.5%)	200
NPE	20 (10)	70 (35%)	44 (22%)	48 (24%)	18 (9%)	200
English	10 (5%)	18 (9%)	72 (36%)	31 (15.5%)	69 (34.5%)	200
Yoruba	19 (9.5%)	60 (30%)	9 (4.5%)	5 (2.5%)	107 (53.5%)	200

Table 10 above is a presentation of participants' languages and their level or ability of usage of each language. 188 participants reported speaking the Ọrọ language at various levels of proficiency. This 'huge' positive response dispels the assumption by the Ọrọ people that the Ọrọ language is being threatened. The assumption by most community members is that the Ọrọ language is just used in the home domain only and therefore under threat to be replaced by the Ibibio language which is the state language and the language of power. But I must warn at this point that one factor which causes the number of Ọrọ speakers to swell is the influence of grandparents around the home. In the Ọrọ community, there may be a few nuclear families; otherwise, it is a type of society where parents, grandparents, uncles, nieces and even people that are not related by blood live together under one roof. This arrangement brings the children and grand parents closer to each other and ofcourse we shall see later in this chapter and in chapter 6 how the older generation in the community prefer the use of Ọrọ especially in the home domain. However, this finding will help settle the dust which has been stirred between the two languages on the status of

teaching Ibibio language in the primary schools in Orọ as against government policy which recommends that a child be taught in the language of the immediate community for the first three years of schooling.

Interesting information I deem useful in the above table is the number of speakers recorded for NPE. Only 18 out of 200 participants said they do not speak NPE. This information is useful as it confirms the status of NPE in Orọ as well as in Nigeria. NPE has become the language of unity; it is the language of the media for instance the Comfort FM broadcasts its news in NPE. The media would not be complete without the use of NPE especially by youths. A look at WhatsApp, Face book and other social media forum can reveal how NPE is the centre of attraction for the users. Although the community identifies itself with the Orọ language, Efik has the highest number of speakers among those surveyed. I chose to cross tabulate the following variables because these were the most influential factors in reported language proficiency from among those gathered for the study.

### 5.9.1 Orọ

Table 11 Migration history \* Speaks Orọ Cross tabulation

Migration history	Speaks Orọ					Total
	very good	good	Fair	Poor	not at all	
Sedentary	86 (43%)	10 (5%)	3 (1.5%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	103
Returnee	29 (14.5%)	3 (1.5%)	6 (3%)	5 (2.5%)	1 (.5%)	44 (22%)
Incomer	17 (8.5%)	9 (4.5%)	10 (5%)	8 (4%)	9 (4.5%)	53 (26.5%)
Total	132 (66%)	22 (11%)	19 (9.5%)	15 (7.5%)	12 (6%)	200

Table 11 provides and interesting information about language use and migration in the Orọ community. The highest number of Orọ speakers came from the group categorized as sedentary. Those who are in the returnee and incomer groups, not surprisingly since the language is not spoken widely outside of the community do not

speak the language well. This class of participants consists of people who have been permanently resident in the community from their birth. Although they may speak other languages which are dominant in the community like Efik, Ibibio, NPE and the other regional varieties, they nevertheless have a good communication standing in Ọrọ.

The seven participants who claim not to speak Ọrọ well among the sedentary class were of the age range of 16-24. Two of the participants within this group reported acquiring English as their L1 (see table 18). This age range is significant because of the times in which they are born. They have access to so much information online and could interact with people outside their continent. Moreover, most schools nowadays especially for educated parents are taught in English. Recent studies have revealed that a growing number of young Nigerians do not speak indigenous languages (Igboanusi 2006, 2008; Adegbija 2001).

One relevant piece of information is the high number of participants who do not speak Ọrọ from the incomer group. Incomers are people who came into the community either through marriage or adoption or for business. In so many cases, they speak languages different from the ones spoken in the community yet studies have shown that incomers still have to speak Ọrọ and other languages within the community as a mark of solidarity or membership of the community (Dicarlo2015; Dicarlo & Good 2016; Igboanusi 2008). Unfortunately this study did not explore the length of time these participants who do not speak Ọrọ have lived in the Ọrọ community; maybe, this would have provided answers to why they did not speak the language. My assumption is that they may have been very recent in the community based on information contained in table 7 where some incomers claim to speak Ọrọ very well.

## 5.9.2 Efik Language and Religion

Table 12 Religion \* Speaks Efik Cross tabulation

Religion	Speaks Efik					Total
	very good	Good	fair	poor	not at all	
Christianity	68 (34%)	60 (30%)	46 (23%)	16 (8%)	2 (1%)	192
Muslim	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	1 (.5%)	5
Other	0 (0%)	1 (.5%)	2 (1%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3
Total	68 (34%)	63 (31.5%)	50 (25%)	16 (8%)	3 (1.5%)	200

The next language on the scale of speaking is Efik with 197 claiming to speak Efik at various levels. Just three participants reportedly admitted to not speaking the Efik language. I have decided to investigate why the Efik language has more speakers in Orọ community than the Orọ language. There are various reasons for this but a noticeable one is the role of Efik in religion in the community. Efik is the lingua franca in most churches, especially the orthodox churches in the community.

It can be recalled that in chapter 1 of this thesis, I mentioned in section 1.3.5 that Orọ; Efik, Ibibio and Anaang belong to the Lower Cross language family. This means that the languages have shared features and are related to each other (Essien, 1983, Urua 2000). Although Efik language is spoken and owned by the people of the neighbouring Cross River state of Nigeria, its popularity in the neighbouring states cannot be denied. The popularity of Efik lies in three main areas: religion, primary school and health centre. These factors will be discussed in detail under domain of language use in the next chapter. A full account of the dominance of Efik in the then South-Eastern Nigeria as the language of religion, health centre and the primary education and beyond has been provided in section 2.2.2 above.

### 5.9.3 The Ibibio Language and Occupation

**Table 13 Speaks Ibibio \* Participants' Occupation Cross Tabulation**

Speaks Ibibio	Participant's occupation					Total
	Civil servant	Schooling	Farming	Fishing	Self employed	
very good	7 (3.5%)	2 (1%)	10 (5%)	11 (5.5%)	18 (9%)	48
Good	3 (1.5%)	3 (1.5%)	12 (6%)	11 (5.5%)	9 (4.5%)	38
Fair	10 (5%)	6 (3%)	11 (5.5%)	10 (5%)	16 (8%)	53
Poor	14 (7%)	6 (3%)	9 (4.5%)	18 (9%)	11 (5.5%)	58
not at all	3 (1.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3
Total	37	17	42	50	54	200

In table 9, we saw the levels of proficiency of participants with 193 participants saying they speak Ibibio at various levels, while three participants say they do not speak it at all. Table 13 above is a cross tabulated results of participants' speaking Ibibio and their occupation. The highest number of speakers came from the self-employed group. This is not a surprise as this group of people are the closest to all the other groups. They have no boundaries and can relate with everybody irrespective of their group. The self-employed group cut across petit (small scale) to wholesale traders, young school leavers looking for employment, handy men, etc. Some members of this group have no jobs beyond being unofficial news carriers for the community. They walk the length and breadth of the community bearing tales heard on the radio or simply fabricated stories. They have no restriction on whom to associate with which may have made them relatively proficient in languages.

The next group is the fishermen/women with a total of 50 participants all admitting to speaking the language at various levels. There is no fisherman who does not at least speak the Ibibio language to some degree. Their kind of trade demands them speaking

to so many people and in different languages. As long as they have to sell their products and stay in business, they need to relate to different people. The next group of occupation is the farmers who recorded 42 participants who speak Ibibio at various levels. Another group is the civil servants with 37 speakers.

Ibibio is the largest ethnic group and language in Akwa Ibom State and the largest language in the Lower Cross language family. It is claimed to be the 4th largest language in Nigeria after the major 3 – Yoruba, Hausa and Igbo (Essien, 1983; Urua, 2000). Apart from this, information made available to me by the elders suggests that Ibibio settlers came in to do businesses and trade in sea products, which is the main occupation of the community. Most went back but some of them remained, got married and raised children who acquire Ọrọ as their L1 or L2. Often, it is not easy to tell the background of children or some adults until someone close to them points it out. The populations have blended and integrated, especially if the spouse happens to come from the Ọrọ community. It means the children may acquire Ọrọ as their L1 and Ibibio as their L2 and other languages from the playground or school as they grow. From this result, I can see that most of the participants who speak Ibibio come from the less formal occupations like fishing and farming. The civil servants who speak Ibibio among the participants belong to the formal profession of teaching in the primary school and working in the health centres.

I would like to point out here that the Efik and Ibibio languages are spoken interchangeably by speakers of the Lower Cross languages. Apart from a few differences in pronunciation, it is difficult to separate the two languages in conversation. However, Ibibio is the state language in Akwa Ibom State and has been approved as the language taught to primary school pupils and made compulsory in government primary schools. Like the Efik language, the Bible has been translated into Ibibio, and there are primers and a multi-lingual online dictionary (Urua, Ekpenyong, & Gibbon, n.d.).

#### **5.9.4 Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE)**

The next language to be considered is Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE). In table 9 where participants reported their number of repertoires, NPE emerged as a significant

language which has many speakers. 20 (10%) of participants speak it very well, 70 (35%) well, 44 (22%) fair, 48 (24%) admitted speaking it poorly and only 18 (9%) of participants did not speak it at all. This language is significant not just in Oyo community, but in Nigeria. Given its role in the community, I have decided to look at factors that would have made it emerged as one of the reportedly spoken languages. Among the factors available to the research are education and occupation. The cross tabulated table below is to see the influence, if any of education on NPE.

**Table 14 Years of education \* Speaks NPE Cross tabulation**

Years of education	Speaks NPE				Not at all	Total
	very good	good	Fair	poor		
No formal education	0 (0%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)	3 (1.5%)	8 (4%)	15
FSLC	0 (0%)	7 (3.5%)	10 (5%)	38 (19%)	6 (3%)	61
JSS3	1 (.5%)	1 (.5%)	6 (3%)	2 (1%)	3 (1.5%)	13
SSS3	6 (3%)	56 (28%)	20 (10%)	4 (2%)	0 (0%)	86
OND	3 (1.5%)	0 (0%)	1 (.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4
3RD YR UNI	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1
BA	9 (4.5%)	4 (2%)	3 (1.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	16
MA	1 (.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (.5%)	0 (0%)	2
PhD	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1 (.5%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	1
Total	21	70	44	48	17	200

Table 14 proves the ability to speak NPE has nothing to do with educational attainment. Although eight participants from the class without formal education reported they do not speak the language, yet six participants within that same class reported using the language and some even reported competency in use. The difference in number is not significant. This is slightly different from the Port Harcourt study carried out by Ihemere (2007) where NPE was linked to people with some level of educational attainment. One striking thing the table above reveals is

that even participants with higher educational attainment also speak NPE (Akande & Salami, 2010). The truth about NPE in Nigeria and Orọ community is that it is recognised by most people as the language of Nigeria. It is the only language in Nigeria that permeates regional or national boundaries, (see full discussion of this in 2.2.6) above.

On the whole, the cross tabulation seems to suggest that NPE plays a significant role in the Orọ community given the rate at which it is spoken by all ages irrespective of educational achievement. NPE is the language used mostly by most Nigerians as a language of communication. A community like Orọ with many returnees and incomers are connected through the power of a common language NPE. Every suspected visitor to the community is greeted by the residents in either NPE or Efik. The usual assumption is that the visitor might not understand the other indigenous languages like the standard Orọ and the varieties. If the visitor is received by an older community member, the language of interaction at first contact might be Efik, the youths and middle-aged members prefer the use of NPE or English until the visitor proves s/he understands the basic languages of the community.

Simire (2003) refers to NPE as a contact language constituting a neutral code since it does not belong to any ethnic group in Nigeria. However, he identifies the fact that NPE is more widely used in Nigeria than any of the officially recognised three codes of Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. NPE has people using it as their L1 in multilingual states like Edo, Rivers, Lagos, Bayelsa, Delta and Akwa Ibom. It has been described as filling those gaps that English cannot fill in the country Nigeria (for further details, see also Ihemere (2006:62; Holm 2000, 1989)). In the Orọ community, NPE plays a vital role as a coordinating language between people who do not have the same languages, irrespective of one's educational background

### 5.9.5 English Language and Years of Formal Education

The next language I am considering is English. In table 9, we saw that 10 (5%) participants reported their English is very good, 18 (9%) said their spoken English is just good, 72 (36%) participants said their English is fair, 31 (15.5%) reported their spoken English is poor while 69 (34.5%) of the participants claimed not to speak any English at all. English is Nigeria's official language and compulsory in secondary school and beyond. Although English could to some extent be regarded as a language associated with power in Nigeria, 69 people said they do not speak it at all. The percentages that said they speak English very well fall within the highly educated in our study as is shown below in table 15.

Table 15 Years of education \* Speaks English Cross tabulation

Years of education	Speaks English				Not at all	Total
	very good	Good	Fair	Poor		
No formal education	0	0	0	0	15	15
FSLC	0	0	2	10	52	64
JSS3	0	0	2	6	2	10
SSS3	0	9	63	15	0	87
OND	0	3	1	0	0	4
3RD YR UNI	0	0	1	0	0	1
BA	7	6	3	0	0	16
MA	2	0	0	0	0	2
PhD	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	10	18	72	31	69	200

Unlike the regional languages and NPE, Proficiency in English rises with academic achievement. 69 participants who either have no formal education or fall within the lower academic ladder of FSLC and JS3 all admitted to not speaking the English language at all. Eight out of 10 participants in the JSS3 grouping speak English at

various levels. This number if contrasted against place of residence would clearly state these eight participants came from the rural part of the community. The number of participants who speak English either very well or fairly well keeps rising as the level of education rises. With the various roles which English language plays in the country Nigeria, one would have expected more people to speak English well. Ogunmodimu (2015: 155) observes that “Today, English has grown to become the official national language of Nigeria and continues to play important roles in the nation as the language of education, media, religion (especially the Pentecostal Christian faith), and the language of politics, governance and law”.

English is the language of the elites and also the first language for some Nigerians. The above table suggests that only 10 out of 200 participants in the BA, MA and PhD grouping admitted speaking English very well. This confirms the observation of Igboanusi (2008: 254) which states that only 31 percent of Nigeria’s total population has some level of competence in English language. From the above information, educational attainment as a factor affects not just choices but also level of proficiency in participants’ reported languages. The undergraduate students (Year 3 University) do not believe they speak ‘very good’ English as they are yet to graduate with a first degree. Besides, some participants were somehow afraid it was going to be a test that might expose how poor their English was.

Table 16 Age of participants \* Speaks English Cross tabulation

Age of participants	Speaks English					Total
	very good	Good	fair	poor	not at all	
50 and above	1	2	8	1	17	29
35-49	6	5	22	17	25	75
25-34	2	5	27	11	22	67
16-24	1	6	15	2	5	29
Total	10	18	72	31	69	200

Age of participants also determines the level of the use of English in the community. Participants who are within the age range of 50 and above have more number who do

not speak English at all. But participants within the age ranges of 35-49, 25-34 and 16-24 have less number of those who do not speak English at all. This is a sharp contrast to what was reported for NPE in table 14. Also, the age ranges between 49-16 are aware of the importance, role and status of English as a language of education and socio economic environment (Bissoonauth 2008:301).

#### **5.9.6 Yoruba Language**

The next language I have chosen to look at based on the figures in table 7 is Yoruba language. It is one of the major languages in Nigeria beside Hausa and Igbo. Table 9 indicates that 19 (9.5%) participants speak Yoruba very well, 60 (30%) are good in spoken Yoruba, 9 (4.5%) said their Yoruba is fair, 5 (2%) report their Yoruba speaking is poor, while 109 (53.5%) reportedly said they do not speak Yoruba. Yoruba belongs to the Niger-Congo language family and is a Bantu language. It is spoken in the south-western part of Nigeria and outside the country in Benin Republic and Togo. Its origin in the Orọ community dates to the arrival of the Ilajes, an ethnic group in Yoruba whose main occupation is fishing. As is a fact with migration, they came to settle in the community with their language, engaged in inter-ethnic marriages and became part of the Orọ community. Today, apart from a few of the middle-aged Yoruba having tribal face marks, the gap between ethnic groups becomes narrow and it is difficult to identify people who migrated to the area. Initially, this would have been possible due to language, mode of dressing, biological traits like body built, face shape, etc., and food. Because of inter-marriages, these means of identifying people have almost been wiped out in the Orọ community unless the people concerned wants to lay claim to their ethnicity.

In a communication with Ilaje chief in Ibaka (personal communication 5<sup>th</sup> Dec 2014), I was informed that only the older generation of the people still visit the Ondo state, their original home where they have some relatives. The young generation claimed they have no place they can call home apart from the Orọ community. They were born there, schooled there, some are married there and all their friends and network are in Orọ. Interestingly, the males married to the females from the Orọ community speak some Orọ with a mixture of the NPE to the wives and children. The wives on the other hand learn some Yoruba from their husbands. Some of the Yoruba men take

chieftaincy titles from the Orọ community. Based on this discussion it appears that the greatest predictors of speaking Yoruba are migration, occupation and/or age.

Table 17 Speaks Yoruba \* Participant's occupation Cross tabulation

Speaks Yoruba	Participant's occupation						Total
	Civil servant	Schooling	Farming	Fishing	Self employed	Unemployed	
very good	3	2	1	7	4	2	19
Good	9	4	10	17	16	9	65
Fair	1	0	1	5	2	0	9
Poor	0	2	0	20	1	1	24
not at all	12	9	6	10	22	24	83
Total	25	17	18	59	45	36	200

The highest number of Yoruba speakers from the cross tabulation above is from the Fishing group with 49 participants speaking the language at various levels of proficiency. Closely following the fishing group is the Self-employed participants with 23 people admitting the ability to speak Yoruba. This is followed by Civil servants and Farmers with 13 and 12 participants reporting speaking Yoruba respectively.

The impression from the above table is that a significant number of participants from occupations like fishing; farming and self-employed are speakers of Yoruba. The above information is suggestive of a strong correlation between occupation and speaking Yoruba. This correlation also supports the claim by the Clan head on a personal communication that Yoruba settlers arrived the coast initially through the Atlantic Ocean on a fishing expedition. The Yorubas also own the large boats used for distant fishing which have the capacity to preserve the sea products from decay for as long as the fishermen will remain on sea (this sometimes span one month or more). They are also associated with businesses like boat making, net mending, etc.

Levels of proficiency for the self-reported repertoires for the participants vary from language to language. The data on table 9 indicates that the presence of particular languages in the repertoires is generally high for the regional languages such as Ọrọ , Efik, Ibibio and NPE. Individual's usage rate of one language may be inversely proportionate to another. Some participants who speak, for instance Efik, very well only end up speaking Ọrọ fairly or poorly. This study lends its support to a multilingual not necessarily being an individual that has the same proficiency in all his repertoires (see chapter 2 on multilingualism). There is no participant in my study who reported equal proficiency in more than one of the languages they spoke. This result may impact how we define multilingualism.

The next set of questions I consider concern the social networks of participants. A total of 15 questions were designed to understand how, where and with whom participants use their languages. I shall approach each of the questions separately presenting the responses of participants in tables and the discussion under them.

To understand the way in which participants acquired/learned the multiple languages they speak, I began by asking their L1. L1 as used in this thesis represents the first language people acquire. As it is usually the case that people acquire more than one language when growing up, I asked the participants to give me the language they remember first speaking in the world which I refer to as L1, the second language as L2 and so on. I explained that I was not looking for their parents' language yet, but their own first idea of using a language. To a significant degree, this meaning was understood, as I have crosschecked the questionnaires of some students whose parents speak Ibibio and Ọrọ respectively, but because of personal decisions speak English to them as their first language.

### 5.10.1 First Language of Participants

**Table 18** First language of participant

Languages	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Orọ	78	39.0	39.0	39.0
Efik	42	21.0	21.0	60.0
Ibibio	24	12.0	12.0	72.0
Anaang	11	5.5	5.5	77.5
NPE	12	6.0	6.0	83.5
English lang	3	1.5	1.5	85.0
Ebughu	5	2.5	2.5	87.5
Enwang	4	2.0	2.0	89.5
Okobo	6	3.0	3.0	92.5
Uda	9	4.5	4.5	97.0
Yoruba	6	3.0	3.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

As noted above, even though the community identifies strongly with the Orọ language, only 39% (78) participants admitted their L1 is Orọ. The next highest percentage 21% (42) says they have Efik as their L1. 6% (12) participants have NPE as their L1, while 1.5% (3) participants have English as their L1. This is interesting to know as it can further explain why most participants have so many repertoires at their disposal. With 12 participants acquiring NPE as their L1, NPE is a Creole with people speaking it as first language in the community. In his Port Harcourt study, Ihemere (2006:58–59) claims that there are between four and eight million speakers of NPE who acquire it as their first language. This finding further lends credibility to the findings in table seven where participants reportedly admitted speaking NPE at a high rate. Although there are many variants in the style of NPE across Nigeria, the meanings of certain words and vocabulary remain the same. This makes it more than a contact language as it unifies the members of the community much more than English which from our table has just three participants who acquired it as their L1. The proportion of participants acquiring NPE as their L1 overwhelms participants

with the dialects of Ọrọ such as Ebughu, Enwang, Uda and Okobo which have fewer participants claiming these dialects as their L1.

### 5.10.2 First Language of Mother

The next question which serves as a follow up to participants' L1 is the L1 of mother. This became necessary to understand choices of language across the network of participants. Given the fact that 53 of the participants in Table 2 Migration history (on migration) reported to have been incomers and 44 said they were returnees, it would be useful to know the languages of the mothers and fathers and we can make generalisations of possible language repertoires and choices of participants.

**Table 19 First Language (L1) of Mother**

Languages	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Ọrọ	88	44	44	44
Efik	32	16	16	60
Ibibio	21	10	10	70
Anaang	11	5	5	76
Ebughu	10	5	5	81
Enwang	9	4	4	85
Okobo	13	6	6	92
Uda	7	3	3	95
Yoruba	9	4	4	100
Total	200	100	100	

The only striking information from the table above is the fact that none of the participants reported having English or NPE as their mothers' L1. This is more so because the study was conducted in a rural community which means most people were not very interested in the English language or NPE in the past few decades as it is in recent years. Although English is the language of the colonial Masters, only a few people had access to it but not enough to have been their L1.

### 5.10.3 First Language of Father

The next table presents the reported first language of father. Just as the above table investigates participants' mothers' L1, it is necessary to also look at the fathers' L1. This way, we can keep track of the participants' repertoires as a function of their parents' first languages or not.

Table 20 First Language (L1)of Father

Languages	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Or̩	100	50	50	50
Efik	28	14	14	64
Ibibio	20	10	10	74
Anaang	10	5	5	79
Ebughu	5	2	2	81
Enwang	7	3	3	85
Okobo	6	3	3	88
Uda	12	6	6	94
Yoruba	12	6	6	100
Total	200	100	100	

In table 20, 12 participants have Yoruba, a language spoken by about 28 million people in the western part of Nigeria as their fathers' L1; unlike in table 19 where there were just 9 mothers who speak Yoruba as their L1. This trend may be an indicator that more Yoruba men than women in the community maintain the language as a mark of their identity. It may also be that some of the Yoruba men are married outside their language group; this marriage arrangement is identified as one of the causes which contribute to multilingualism in the Or̩ community.

#### 5.10.4 Languages Spoken with Mother

The next item is the language participants speak with their mothers. From the preceding discussion where we have seen that some participants have mothers and fathers having different L1s, it becomes necessary to ask the language the participants spoke with their parents when they were young or living together.

Table 21 Languages spoken with mother

Languages	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Ọrọ	90	45	45.0	45.0
Efik	47	23.5	23.5	68.5
Ibibio	21	10.5	10.5	79.0
Anaang	12	6.0	6.0	85.0
NPE	11	5.5	5.5	90.5
English	1	.5	.5	91.0
Ebughu	3	1.5	1.5	92.5
Enwang	4	2.0	2.0	94.5
Okobo	3	1.5	1.5	96.0
Uda	4	2.0	2.0	98.0
Yoruba	4	2.0	2.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Surprisingly, 11 participants reported they speak NPE with their mother despite having reported earlier that no mother possess NPE as L1. The same thing although slightly different is reported for English where one participant said he speaks English with the mother. So, the information gathered from table 21 indicates the importance attached to English language and NPE in the Ọrọ community. Having parents with different L1 can have an impact on children's repertoires. In most cases that I have witnessed through participant observation, the child will learn both father and mother's languages and this increases the number of repertoires acquired by children which will in turn influence the choices made by them in conversations.

### 5.10.5 Languages Spoken with Father

Table 22 Language spoken with father

Languages	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Orọ	91	45.5	45.5	45.5
Efik	45	22.5	22.5	68.0
Ibibio	18	9.0	9.0	77.0
Anaang	13	6.5	6.5	83.5
NPE	17	8.5	8.5	92.0
English	1	.5	.5	92.5
Ebughu	1	.5	.5	93.0
Enwang	1	.5	.5	93.5
Okobo	3	1.5	1.5	95.0
Uda	7	3.5	3.5	98.5
Yoruba	3	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Although 91 participants admitted speaking Orọ to their father, it is not much of a surprise to have as many as 17 participants speaking to their father in NPE. The same number is reported for languages with mother where many speak NPE with their mothers. One participant speaks English to the father and I suspect this participant to be among the highly educated participants. Most participants who speak NPE to their fathers are very likely to be from homes where the parents have different languages. In such cases, the most common language spoken at home is usually NPE. Besides, NPE is spoken in so many informal situations in the community so the family would have chosen to flow in NPE which make them identify with the norms of the community. Despite having 12 fathers and nine mothers whose L1 is Yoruba, only 3 participants speak Yoruba to father and four to mother. This clearly indicates that the younger generation of Yoruba born in Orọ regard themselves as Orọ and by default reports their languages as Orọ. This finding can explain the high figure often reported by participants as speaking Orọ to mother of father, etc.

### 5.10.6 Languages Spoken with Siblings

Table 23 Language spoken with siblings

Languages	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Orɔ	113	56.5	56.5	56.5
Efik	26	13.0	13.0	69.5
Ibibio	19	9.5	9.5	79.0
Anaang	3	1.5	1.5	80.5
NPE	16	8.0	8.0	88.5
English	3	1.5	1.5	90.0
Ebughu	2	1.0	1.0	91.0
Enwang	4	2.0	2.0	93.0
Okobo	2	1.0	1.0	94.0
Uda	9	4.5	4.5	98.5
Yoruba	3	1.5	1.5	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Apart from the regional languages taking the lead among languages spoken among siblings, NPE and English language are reportedly used among siblings. Interestingly, NPE ranks fourth among languages used. Some factors may be responsible for this and may include having parents who speak different languages at home, environmental factors, for instance language practices on the streets of the community, the type of occupation which one engages in and social reasons, for example their network of friends. Some of them are also from the incomer and returnee groups who grew or lived in environments where NPE is used as a lingua franca. The current Boko Haram crisis in Nigeria has seen a lot of Exoduses from major cities like Kaduna, Maiduguri, Zamfara and Abuja. In these cities, apart from Hausa, NPE is the available language that people use freely without fear of discrimination.

### 5.10.7 Languages Spoken with Old Relatives

Table 24 Languages with old relatives

Languages	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Orọ	121	60.5	60.5	60.5
Efik	24	12.0	12.0	72.5
Ibibio	19	9.5	9.5	82.0
Anaang	2	1.0	1.0	83.0
NPE	2	1.0	1.0	84.0
English	1	.5	.5	84.5
Ebughu	3	1.5	1.5	86.0
Enwang	4	2.0	2.0	88.0
Okobo	3	1.5	1.5	89.5
Uda	14	7.0	7.0	96.5
Yoruba	7	3.5	3.5	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

There is a notable decline in the number of participants who use English or NPE with their older relatives. This is largely due to the fact that African kinship is based on respect. Some older relatives do not have formal education therefore using languages that are not understood by them or which are faintly understood is deemed as insults. Using languages which are not familiar to the older generation could be interpreted in many ways. It could mean pride, arrogance, disrespect and lot more. Yet there is an exception to this rule. Igboanusi (2008) reports that during political campaigns, politicians adopt the use of English to show off their status, wealth, influence, etc to the public where more than one third of the population do not understand them.

### 5.10.8 Languages Spoken with Children

Table 25 languages spoken with children

Languages	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Ọrọ	89	44.5	44.5
Efik	21	10.5	10.5
Ibibio	6	3.0	3.0
Anaang	1	.5	.5
NPE	25	12.5	12.5
English	49	24.5	24.5
Ebughu	3	1.5	1.5
Enwang	2	1.0	1.0
Uda	4	2.0	2.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0

Table 25 presents interesting figures for languages participants chose to speak with their children. Although the highest reported figure indicates that Ọrọ is the best language choice with children, a language like English which before now has been at the bottom suddenly shoots up with 49 participants (24.5%) reporting their preferences for English. Most parents in the community prefer to use English language with their wards irrespective of their status in the use of English. What I mean is, even if the parents are not good in spoken English, they would rather speak a “wrong” English or ungrammatical form to their wards than speak the regional languages. The reason for parents’ adoption of English as a medium of communication with their children is tied to the use of English in primary schools without respect to the National Policy on Education guidelines. This situation is captured succinctly by Mahmud (2016: 133) as follows:

It is also re-stated in the revised copy (2004) of the NPE the medium of instruction in the primary schools shall be the language of the environment for the first three years. From the fourth year English shall progressively be used as a medium of instruction and the language of immediate environment, and French shall be taught as subject (NPE 4<sup>th</sup> edition, 2004). Unfortunately, some institutions start as from primary one to use English language in their schools and even punish a child who uses his mother tongue for self-expression at such level.

The quest for success through the medium of English in Nigeria has driven many parents beyond their boundaries as every parent wants to see his children do well in school. In a similar study in Mauritius, Bissoonauth (2008:301) reports that many participants who were also students considered a fail in English as a fail in all the subjects. Parents of the subjects studied by Bissoonauth also reported that the only meaningful language to them is the English language.

Next is NPE with 25 (12.5%) participants agreeing they speak the language with their children. These choices have led to a decrease in other languages and dialects like Efik with just 21 (10.5%) participants using the language with their children. The variants of Ọrọ seem to suffer some setback as we can see from the above. Typical conversations in the community in most cases witness children respond in English to their parents' interaction in regional languages like Ọrọ , Efik and Ibibio. This therefore confirms the findings of Myers-Scotton (2002:210) where parents spoke Chichewa to children and the latter responded in English.

Participants could choose to speak other languages with their spouses and other people but prefer English and NPE with their children. This reflects the significant role of English as the official language of Nigeria beside the prestige that goes with it. Another influence of this decision to speak more English to children is the level of awareness created by the Nigerian movie industry. Watching movies is one form of recreation in the community and almost every household has a television set. There is an aspiration of wanting their children to be like one or more of the actors/actresses in the film industry. One way to ensure this is if the child performs well in school, and the means of achieving high performances is by “understanding” and “speaking” English proficiently. This situation was also observed by Batibo (2005:28) who states that “speakers of minority languages easily lose their loyalty to their language and prefer their children to become proficient in the dominant language as it is judged to offer more socio economic and political benefits”.

### 5.10.9 Language Spoken with Friends

**Table 26 Languages spoken with friends**

Language	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Ọrọ	82	41.0	41.0	41.0
Efik	32	16.0	16.0	57.0
Ibibio	20	10.0	10.0	67.0
Anaang	7	3.5	3.5	70.5
NPE	26	13.0	13.0	83.5
English	13	6.5	6.5	90.0
Ebughu	3	1.5	1.5	91.5
Enwang	3	1.5	1.5	93.0
Okobo	6	3.0	3.0	96.0
Uda	8	4.0	4.0	100.0
Total	200	100.0	100.0	

Friends as used in this thesis refer to people the participants walk with, talk with and play with. Sometimes, friendship in the community is defined by age group, family members, class/school mates and work colleagues. Although participants reported some very high figure in L1 on the regional languages, the figure has dropped in languages they use with friends. Apart from languages like Ọrọ with 82 (41%) participants, Efik with 32 (16%) and Ibibio with 20 (10%) participants, other languages like NPE 26 (13%) and English 13 (6.5%) participants have gained higher speaker number when compared to L1 of participants (see table 27 below). The reason for this is not very far from the fact that many consider English extremely necessary. On the other hand, NPE is a language without borders in Nigeria and Ọrọ in particular.

**Table 27 Summary of L1 of participants, L1 of mother and L1 of father**

Language	L1 participants	L1 mother	L1 father
Ọrọ	78 (39%)	88 (44%)	100 (50%)
Efik	42 (21%)	32 (16%)	28 (14%)
Ibibio	24 (12%)	21 (10.5%)	20 (10%)
Anaang	11 (5.5%)	11 (5.5%)	10 (5%)
Ebughu	5 (2.5%)	10 (5%)	5 (2.5%)
Enwang	4 (2%)	9 (4.5%)	7 (3.5%)
Okobo	6 (3%)	13 (6.5%)	6 (3%)
Uda	9 (4.5%)	7 (3.5%)	12 (6%)
Yoruba	6 (3%)	9 (4.5%)	12 (6%)
NP	12 (6%)	0	0
English	3 (1.5%)	0	0

Overall, participants whose parents' L1 is Ọrọ top the list, and this is followed by Efik and Ibibio. The high number of fathers' L1 recorded as Ọrọ is not surprising because Ọrọ itself is a patrilineal and virilocal community. The L1 of fathers in the community are as important as the existence of the community. As observed in the table above, no parents have NPE or English as their L1 despite 12 participants admitting to acquiring it as their L1. Three participants have English as their L1. This is a recent development in the community as educated parents and even the less educated ones try to bring up their children speaking English. This initiative of speaking English to one's children is a show of social class, or out of a desire for the children to demonstrate the knowledge of English in school which could be synonymous with high performance.

## 5.11 Languages Spoken in Community Contexts

Table 28 Languages spoken in community contexts

Languages spoken	Chieftaincy coronation	Community meetings	Pouring of libations	Settlement of disputes
Orọ	112 (56%)	70 (35%)	115 (57.5)	78 (39%)
Efik	44 (22%)	32 (15%)	32 (15%)	35 (17.5%)
Ibibio	10 (5%)	21 (10.5%)	12 (6%0	12 (6%)
Anaang	4 (2%)	11 (5.5%)	8 (4%)	11 (5.5%)
Ebughu	9 (4.5%)	10 (5%)	7 (3.5%)	10 (5%)
Enwang	7 (35%)	9 (4.5%)	10 (5%)	7 (3.5%)
Okobo	8 (4%)	13 (6.5%)	6 (3%)	8 (4%)
Uda	6 (3%)	7 (3.5%)	10 (5%)	8 (4%)
Yoruba	0 (0%)	9 (4.5%)	0 (0%)	9 (4.5%)
NPE	0 (0%)	18 (9%)	0 (0%)	20 (0%)
English	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2 (1%)

The table shows that ceremonies that are tied to specific traditional performances in the community, for example chieftaincy coronation in the Orọ community and pouring of libations are done mostly using the Orọ language. Another language that is also present at such events is Efik language. As a participant observer, I had witnessed two coronations within the period I was doing fieldwork. I observed that as the elected chief ascends the throne, ballads and praises are rendered in Efik. The popular Ekombi songs and dances are performed in Efik. As a chief, he is also a member of the Ekpe society which has its origin in Efik town. The chief is expected to greet the people as he walks around the venue performing some <sup>5</sup>Nsibidi symbols. Some languages like NPE and English, are completely absent in these functions. The subject of pouring libation is beyond the scope of my thesis but suffice it to say that the Orọ community places a high value on. They are an expression of thanks for the continued blessings enjoyed by the community. It is an act of acknowledging the forefathers of the community and singing praises to the gods for keeping watch over the community (Nehusi, 2015). For performing such tasks, speakers of the language believe it must be kept purely traditional and therefore the choice of language is not

<sup>5</sup> Nsibidi is a cult for the respectable people who use signs and symbols to represent their writing system. This is only understood by members of the cult.

negotiable. Community meetings and settlement of disputes witness a high number of people choosing NPE. I associate this choice with the fact that these two are social gatherings where restrictions on language use are not present as are applicable in the pouring of libations. Since linguistic abilities in the community are diverse as the people, the commonest language which is shared by most people irrespective of language background is NPE.

#### **5.11.1. Reported Language Choice Patterns**

Igboanusi (2008:252) observes that “In multilingual contexts, language choice at the individual level is more complex and is determined by a lot of factors”. From the foregoing choices made by participants seem to follow some trends in the community as shown below.

#### **5.11.2 Age and Language Choice**

Age has been identified as a key player in language change or shift. Eckert (1997: 151) observes that

Aging is central to human experience. It is the achievement of physical and social capacities and skills, a continual unfolding of the individual's participation in the world, construction of personal history, and movement through the history of the community and of society. Hence, if aging is movement through time, age is a person's place at a given time in relation to the social order: a stage, a condition, a place in history. That is, age and aging are experienced both individually and as part of a cohort of people who share a life stage, and/or an experience of history.

Having looked at the statistical data, it becomes obvious from participants' reports that language use and age of speakers are related. For instance in the table below, participants from the age range of 50 years and above all speak Qr̩, but participants within the age range of 49 down to 16 have some deficiency in the Qr̩ language.

Table 29 Age of participants \* Speaks Oꝛo Cross tabulation

Age of participants	Speaks Oꝛo					Total
	very good	Good	fair	poor	not at all	
50 and above	20	7	2	0	0	29
35-49	57	3	5	8	2	75
25-34	38	10	8	5	6	67
16-24	2	4	4	2	17	29
Total	117	24	19	15	25	200

Age of participants seems to play a role in the choices reported by the participants. Ability to speak the Oꝛo language decreases with the younger generation of speakers. For instance, table 29 above indicates that all participants within the age range of 50 and above admitted speaking Oꝛo, but twenty five participants within the age range of 49-16 said they do not speak the language at all. What strikes me most is that the number of none speakers keeps increasing as the age of participants decreases . For example only two participants within the age range of 49-35 said they do not speak Oꝛo, six participants within 25-34 and alarming 17 from the range of 16-24 reported not being able to speak the language at all. This observation goes beyond Oꝛo as a similar situation is observed in some of the regional languages like Efik and Ibibio. This position has been upheld by some scholars in Nigeria as becoming a trend so much so that a growing population of Nigerians are none speakers of the indigenous languages (Igboanusi 2008:257; Essien 2005). The possible explanation for this type of language behaviour can be found in 5.10 where 12 participants acquired NPE as their L1 and three others also acquire English language as their L1 despite the fact that no parents was reported to have English or NPE as their L1. Certain factors stand out in the report, for example the issue of language ideology and language perception discussed in chapter seven of this thesis. There are so many enlightenments created by different websites patronised by most people especially the

young people. Several young people in this community aspire to become musicians, movie star, models, politicians, etc. Many of the worlds' music are written in English and other languages with wider population of users. This can influence the way the younger generation see their indigenous languages. It is possible they might regard the indigenous languages as good -enough to be used at home with older relatives or just to be used as community languages. Once there is a feeling that the indigenous languages offer them little or nothing in today's language economic market (LEM), the zeal to learn the language dies or is reduced. There is no doubt that some languages are learned just for the purposes of what they offer. Igboanusi & Peter (2005:18) make the following observation, "Today, most people see English as an important resource for self-enhancement, social and political empowerment and access to educational and job opportunities".

This finding is interesting in that although Ọrọ is reportedly spoken by "all generations", there are still people from the younger generations who do not speak the language. This is a pointer to the fact that the Ọrọ language is not adequately transmitted intergenerationally which could also mean the beginning of language shift. Language choice differs depending on the age of speakers. This finding is in line with the observations of other scholars eg. Ihemere (2006:135; Adegbija 1994; Igboanusi 2015).

### **5.11.3 Educational Attainment and Language Use**

Another interesting feature from the reported data is the influence of formal education on language use. To understand how education influences language use in the community, two variables were cross-tabulated. The reason for choosing English as a determinant for the level of education is based on Nigeria factor where English is compulsory in the academic sector.

Table 30 Years of education \* Speaks English Cross tabulation

Years of education	Speaks English					Total
	very good	good	Fair	Poor	not at all	
No formal education	0	0	0	0	15	15
FSLC	0	0	2	10	52	64
JSS3	0	0	2	6	2	10
SSS3	0	9	63	15	0	87
OND	0	3	1	0	0	4
3RD YR UNI	0	0	1	0	0	1
BA	7	6	3	0	0	16
MA	2	0	0	0	0	2
PhD	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	10	18	72	31	69	200

Table 30 above is a direct contrasts to the report contained in table 29 where all participants within the age of 50 and above reported speaking Oꝛo without an exception. In table 30, all participants without any formal education reported not speaking English. From SS3 class, participants reported they speak English at all levels without anybody reporting not speaking it at all. All others who have higher educational attainments have reported good communication skill in English language. Based on this finding, I align with the findings of other scholars eg. Adegbija (2004) that English as a language is tied to education as a variable. The higher one goes in education, the better his communicative competence in English.

#### 5.11.4 Place of Residence

As has been discussed in the methodology chapter , the data for this research were obtained from two villages of Oꝛo tagged *tangsip* “township which refers to *urban* and *atak Oꝛo* “*rural Oꝛo*”. Participants from the urban villages used language in a bit different way from the participants that came from the rural villages. Whereas the urban dwellers practice more multilingualism, the members from the rural villages practice more of bilingualism involving the regional languages. This way of language use in the community will be discussed in full in the next chapter.

### **5.11.5 Migration**

Another pattern observed from the reported language use of these participants shows that most members referred to in the thesis as *Sedentary* who have not traveled out of their communities use language differently from the ones who have migrated from the community for whatever reason. Most of the members in this group report the regional languages as their main language though with the use of connectives and borrowing from other languages like NPE and English. The language use of the second group tagged *Incomer* is also significant. This group consist mostly people who have come to settle in the community for business or through marriage. In some cases, their language choices are somewhat complex as they engage in all forms of code-switching. The language use of the third group tagged *Returnee* is similar to that of the *Incomers*. Most members of this group have at least three to five languages in their repertoire. They navigate at most times through their array of languages in a singular interaction through the use of intra and intersentential switches. The *Returnees* and *Incomers* switch mostly between English, NPE and indigenous languages. Details of this will be discussed in the next chapter.

### **5.11.6 Religion and Language Use**

Religion is another avenue of language use which needs to be examined further. With majority of participants being Christians in the community (see table 12) and with the advent of many Christian churches and organizations which have flooded the community, language use becomes interesting. In many churches, the English language is used as a default language and in some others, interpretation in Efik or Orọ is provided from behind the pulpit. There are also some churches in the community whose language is basically NPE. Apart from Traditional religion which maintains Orọ as a default language, the Christian religion makes use of mixed languages in their everyday activities.

## **5.12 Chapter Summary**

In this chapter, I discussed the reported repertoires of 200 participants who took part in the Orọ study. The questionnaire was framed to capture practical areas where languages are used in participants' daily lives. There were questions like which language(s) do they speak, for instance at home with parents, spouses, siblings,

children and older relatives. Their responses differ from person to person. On a closer look, I saw that their reported repertoires depended mostly on where they have lived, where they have returned from and where they are coming to. I grouped the participants' movement from birth into three namely sedentary, returnee and incomer.

While the sedentary group would prefer the regional languages – Ọrọ, Efik, Ibibio or the other varieties of Ọrọ, the incomers are more likely to choose from NPE, English before considering the regional languages. A lot of language mixing is practised by members of this community without limitations. Although many languages are used in this community, people still make clear choices depending on whom they are addressing. Most participants reported they use the regional languages with their older relatives possibly because of the influence of tradition which demands it. Many participants said they speak a mixture of languages with their network of friends, but that they prefer the use of NPE and English, especially when talking about official matters.

It was no surprise when some reasonable number of participants reported the choice of English in communication with their children. What was surprising was rather when some less educated members and many people without formal education reported that they also use either NPE or English with their children at home. The only reason for this choice of language with children was to boost their performance in school. They are right in a way as most of the subjects taught to children in the community are written in English.

Different domains have their preferred languages. One of the domains with very strict language rule is the domain of traditional or cultural practices. The traditional worshipper would not for any reason speak English while pouring libation or any traditional rite. The only permitted languages are Ọrọ and Efik. They have chosen to include Efik because as discussed earlier in this thesis, Ọrọ people claim to have more ties with the Efiks than other ethnic groups in the country. Besides, the two communities have similar cultural practices though they are split into two different states. Another domain which has some influence on the reported repertoires is religion. Depending on the type of church a participant attended, languages used in the Christian religion and in religious environment are Efik and English. NPE is not

so much reported in this domain although some people like most incomers would still use it as a form of English in the church.

Generally, linguistic practices in the community is shaped on who a person speaks to, what they were talking about, who is being addressed. Older generation referred to in the thesis older relative prefer to be addressed using the regional languages. I think this is an issue of identity which also features in their language use. Parents prefer the use of English or NPE with their children to encourage them attain high grades in school. The highly educated among them prefer the use of two languages with one option being the English language.

Another thing which the analysis shows is that some occupations like farming, fishing, etc are engaged by people with a low level of education. Occupation is also linked to identifying the origin of some members of the community. For instance, a high number of fisher men/women reported originating or migrating from Ilaje, a Yoruba stock. Many of the civil servants like teachers, nurses are from Efik or Ibibio.

In the next chapter, I shall with the help of my ethnographic data look further into the patterns which have been stated above.

## Chapter 6

### Ethnographic Participant Observation

In the previous chapter I presented and discussed the questionnaire reports obtained from the 200 members of the Orọ community who took part in the study . In the report, demographic information of the participants, their linguistic profiles as well as their ideology which have influenced their language use were discussed. The chapter also looked into the social make-up of the community e.g. their migration trajectory which is responsible for the different language patterns accounted for in the community. A large body of data was presented on the linguistic network of participants and analysis shows that language choices depended to a large extent on who the participant related to. Thus, information on languages spoken to spouse, children, siblings, friends, colleagues and older relatives became a window in understanding the way individuals use languages in the community. The data also shows that certain factors are responsible for influencing language choices outside relations. These factors are referred to as external factors and they include age, level of education attained, place of residence, religion and general ideologies on language.

This chapter discusses the nine-month's ethnographic participant observation of the Orọ community. The accounts contained in this chapter were also gathered from both formal and informal interviews. Examples used in the discussions are drawn from the various recorded life events I participated in, and the discussions are related to the reported data in chapter 5. The conversations transcribed are based, presented and analysed in line with conversational code-switching.

#### 6.1 Statement of the Problem

Most of the accounts discussed so far in this thesis have to do with what participants reported about themselves. As I had mentioned in the methodology chapter, the data collection for the thesis went beyond the questionnaires. This is because most scholars have questioned the integrity of questionnaires in collating and collecting information especially on language use (Adegbija, 1994; Li Wei, 1994). To make the findings more reliable, an ethnographic participant observation and interviews were added to the questionnaire method. The beauty of modern research is woven around

the use of tools like the video and audio cameras. This thesis makes use of these instruments to gather naturally occurring data which are used in the discussions. At the end of this chapter, the data from questionnaires and observation will be compared to ascertain if what the participants reported matched what they do in actual practice and if not, why not? This will guide the thesis in making generalization on the pattern of language use in the Ọrọ community.

## **6.2 Overview of Language Use in Different Domains**

The idea of language use in different domains was first publicised by the American linguist Joshua Fishman. Fishman (1965; 1972) conceives a domain to mean an area or setting characterized by typical interactions between groups of people. He however explains that the characteristics of the factors that influence language choice can be most easily observed in every society in different domains of language use such as intimate, informal, home, school, work and inter-group domains of interaction. This thesis makes use of data collected from domains based on the constitution of the Ọrọ community. Data from domain settings are crucial to the study as pointed out by Igboanusi (2008:253) ... “every specific choice made about language is dependent on the domain”. My *insider* understanding of the community caused me to make certain decisions without necessarily influencing my data. The decision to obtain naturally occurring data from different domains was one of such decisions. I understood from the very beginning the way the community functions, i.e. it is a traditional community which still beliefs strongly in traditional ways of relationship.

Data were obtained in some domains like the home, Religion-Christianity and traditional, work and leisure. These domains of observation were to consolidate the domain questions contained in the questionnaire. Language use in these domains consisted basically of code mixture. Apart from the traditional religion, there was no domain whereby a specific language was used. Rather, participants were seen alternating between different codes. The examples are presented in the analysis.

### **6.3 Methods of Data Collection for Participant Observation**

Three different methods were used in the collection of the ethnographic data. These methods are participant observation, formal and informal interviews and in some cases, I used stimuli. All of these are reported as observation data in this chapter. As stated before, I accompanied the 10 people chosen to most of their activities. I studied them at any given opportunity and lots of data have been collected from all the domains mentioned in chapter 5. Apart from observing the participants, I also interviewed them especially in informal settings. Some of the activities observed and the interviews are captured on video. The observation findings were not reported in the previous chapter which made use of only survey information. A lot more details of my actual experiences during participant observation were not incorporated there because I have chosen to separate participants' reported acts from the ones I actually observed.

#### **6.3.1 The Observation**

Li Wei (1994:68) identifies three types of fieldwork procedures, namely the macro-societal approach, the micro-interactional approach and the social network perspective. The macro-societal approach, according to Li Wei, tends to favour reported data gathered from a community where speakers are asked to report their language choice by means of a questionnaire-based interview. In contrast, the micro-interactional approach considers meanings of language choice and discourse strategies which are employed by speakers with respect to the different repertoires that are available to them within their community. Data for this type of approach is gathered by vis-a-vis interaction, and participant observation accomplished by modern recording equipment. This study makes use of the methods stated above.

##### **6.3.1.1 Ethnographic Participant Observation**

According to Ihemere (2006), participant observation is, as a matter of fact, a straightforward technique. When a researcher immerses him/herself in the community being studied, it is presumed that the researcher has gained understanding, which could be more deeply than those obtained from other methods for example, by questionnaire items only. In this case, the type of participant observation adopted for

this study is the one which sees the method as a research strategy which combines document analysis, interviewing of respondents and consultants, direct participation and observation, and perhaps introspection. Ethnographic participant observation involves collecting information in and about a specific social location such as a community, office group, neighbourhood, school, club, etc. Eckert (2000: 35) pointed out that, to capture the process of meaning-making, researchers need to focus on a level of social organisation at which individual and group identities are being co-constructed, and in which we can observe the emergence of symbolic processes that tie individuals to groups, and groups to the social context in which they gain meanings. Ethnography's central concern is to understand the actions and events of the people we seek to understand. Some of these meanings are directly expressed in language while others are communicated indirectly through actions. Ihemere (2007) observes that as a major ethnographic data collection technique, participant observation is distinct from direct or non-participant observation methodology in relation to the role of the researcher, which moves from detached observer of the situation to the dual role of participant and observer of the situation.

Decades ago, Blom & Gumperz (1972) adopted an ethnographic approach to their participant observation in explaining the social symbolism of code choice in his research work in Norway. The aim of the study was to identify the situation in which speakers of the two dialects moved from one code to another and to explain the social significance of the code-switching behaviour for speakers. The main outcome of their observation method was that they were able to generate the hypothesis that code choice for the locals was constrained by what they termed 'local team' membership of interlocutors rather than by the topic under discussion.

Although the methodology of participant observation has been widely adopted in the field of sociolinguistics as a vital data collection method, its existence has not been without questions as to its implementation. In the next section, I present a discussion of the advantages and the challenges of doing participant observation in the Oro community.

I had mentioned in the methodology chapter of this work that the questionnaire method was to supplement the ethnographic participant observation. The questionnaire method was also very relevant to this study because it is part of what

the thesis seeks answers to, that is, the reported language behaviour of the members of the Orō community. Bearing this in mind, there were other options of data collection method to have chosen from, but the nature of the community where the research was carried out was just suited for the methods chosen for obvious reasons.

The first of the reasons is the low Literacy rates in the community: like I have mentioned elsewhere in this thesis, the setting of field sites determine to a greater extent the methods chosen for data collection. The peculiar circumstances of the community I studied differ from the western setting where majority of subjects of the study are usually literate. The fact that they have not seen a lot of researchers in the community, the fear of invasion from the neighbouring countries, the fear of even their own government sending spies to search their natural resources and lots more made the use of participant observation compelling as the primary data collection method. Jorgensen (1989) observes that the methodology of participant observation allows the fieldworker a flexible approach in obtaining data and is especially appropriate when little is known about the phenomenon. Moreover, many researchers for example (Labov, 1981; Milroy 1987b) argue that the very reason for adopting participant observation is due to the high quality of the data obtained which provide a good sample of everyday language use in the community.

Participant observation is capable of giving insight into the social and communicative norms of the community. It allows access not only to information on informal social ties and organisation, but also to data relevant to the fields of study generally described as 'ethnography of speaking' (Fishman 1972) and 'interactional sociolinguistics' (Gumperz 1982). Apart from this, Labov (1981: 25) noted that participant observation allows for studies of groups and social networks which lead to an increased understanding of linguistic behaviours (Ihemere, 2007). By implication, participant observation can explain why a speaker's language is used in a particular position in a wider social structure. Another question raised against participant observation studies is that they are extremely demanding in terms of tact, energy, persistence, time and emotional involvement. Strong (and sometimes quite intense) relationships with individuals are built up over a period of even a few weeks.

Other than this, some researchers (see Milroy, Li Wei & Moffatt, 1991) that the bane of participant observation is the lack of data that is specific, comparable and applicable to wider contexts. To overcome this problem of directly comparable and specific data, in this present study, as mentioned in chapter 5 above, I have supplemented material obtained through participant observation with information gathered through the use of the questionnaire.

Beyond these issues, doing participant observation in the Oṛo community where there is widespread poverty among the members raises serious personal challenges for the ethnographer. Although I had made my intentions clear from the beginning that I will pay the participants certain amount of money, some of them expected much more financial and material reward from me. My daily explanations that the project was self funded did not seem to have any effect on the people. If I were not a community member, I think most of the participants would have withdrawn from the study. This action of theirs called to memory my experience with a small community in Akoko where I understudied a senior colleague. Her consultants merely gave her certain information about the community and forbade anyone who tried to give out more information than they agreed. This attitude of the consultants got me worried and I decide to break my silence and demanded answers. They were shocked that I could speak Yoruba, the language they spoke to hide certain information from my colleague who was European and barely understood their languages. The response I got was shocking. They would not relate all their “secrets” to a “white” lady who will eventually use the information against them (like it was during colonisation).

Ten (10) participants were chosen initially and observed daily in different speech acts. But the nature of relationship among kith and kins in the community makes a nuclear family to be extended beyond a husband, wife and children. As I have explained in the methodology chapter, forty four (44) participants who lived in the houses I stayed were observed but emphasis was placed on the initial ten. Below is a table which shows the structure of participants.

**Table 32 Structure of the participant observation per age bracket, gender and village (n=44).**

Age bracket	Gender:		Eweme village	Akan Obio village	Total
	Males	females			
50 and above	3	3	3	3	6
35-49	8	8	8	8	16
25-34	8	6	7	7	14
16-24	4	4	4	4	8

### **6.3.2 Selected Contexts of Observation**

Although the observation was a sort of general in that I tend to understand whatever was done in the community, I chose to actually base my concentration on some of the contexts that occurred daily in the community. I have provided the list of some of the contexts where the observations and interviews were carried out in Fieldwork. The selected contexts are believed to be very important to the community members as this could be seen in their attitude towards each event. Some of the contexts observed are the home, markets, farms, religious institutions, youth meetings, among others. All these contexts shall be explained and naturally occurring data obtained presented for analysis below.

#### **6.3.2.1 The Home Context Background**

I think it best to explain the meaning of a home in the Orọ community so as to lay a foundation for the importance attached to it above all other domains of my observation. At first, it has to be understood that I stayed in the same home with the participants I had chosen to observe which made it very easy for me to have access to most of the daily activities in the home. A home in the Orọ context is not a place exclusively for the man, wife and children. A home is inclusive of an extended family, in-laws, friends and even foes. A home is a symbol of unity and brotherhood. It is a place where love is shared through food and palm wine. Everybody is welcome to drink or eat without invitation. Passers-by can stop by and share. Therefore, the home domain is very important to the present study. Some of the activities in the home domain are morning prayers generally held in the living room (called the

parlour), a place reserved specifically for the head of the family to host important events. Usually, visitors are received here and it sometimes acts as a dining room for the guests. Other places in the home domain include the kitchen where meals are prepared. The kitchens in most houses in this community are detached buildings away from the main building. This is to avoid smoke oozing from firewood which is used in cooking from penetrating the main building which is reserved for important occasions.

Around the home also, we have trees planted outside the main entrances to the house. These trees serve as natural shed which protect the house from windstorm and heat. Under these trees, there are some bamboo chairs and passers-by are always welcome to the discussions or gossips accompanied with fresh palm wines and roasted fish. Here, issues relating to the community, politics and other business of the community are usually discussed. People who own radios and televisions bring the stories they heard from the news media or grapevines to this forum. Most of my data was gathered at such occasions. But before the data I would like to provide some information about the participants in the interactions. The names represented here are not the actual names of the participants. This is done to protect the identities of the participants although they had assured me that there is nothing wrong if I chose to use their real identities. Besides, the materials contained in this thesis are not harmful in any way and have been approved by the participants.

### **6.3.3 Participants' Linguistic Biographies**

#### **6.3.3.1 Participant A**

This participant is named Jo in the transcript. He is 32 years old, a native of Eweme in Orọ community and a cap driver. Jo has two wives who come from different speech communities. He was born in the community and completed his high school in the community. Lack of government work compelled him like other young people in the community to travel to Lagos, a city in the western part of Nigeria. While there, Jo met and got married to his second wife and they have four children. Since Jo and his second wife do not understand each other's language, they chose to communicate in the languages of their host community -Yoruba, the popular NPE and sometimes in English. Their four children also speak the four languages which are spoken by their parents, friends and at school.

Unfortunately to Jo, he was forced by the insurgent of Bokko Haram sect to return to his home community, Ọrọ or risk death and his family. Jo made up his mind and returned to Ọrọ in January 2013. He speaks Ọrọ, Efik, Ibibio, Yoruba, some Hausa, NPE and English language.

#### **6.3.3.2 Participant B**

Named NK in the transcript, she is the first wife of Jo and a native of Ọrọ community. She is 30 years old, a fish seller who has little formal education. NK has not travelled out of her community apart from a few days' visits. She has five children and they all live with her and her mother in-law in Ọrọ. NK's children are aged 15, 13, 10, 8 and 5 years respectively and they all attend the community secondary and primary schools in their village. She speaks Ọrọ, Efik and a bit of NPE.

#### **6.3.3.3 Participant C**

Participant C is named Ima in the transcript and she is Jo's second wife. She is 26 years old, has obtained a secondary school education and she is also a trader. Ima was born in Anaang community and grew up there until she obtained her primary education at age 12. Thereafter she was taken in by a Yoruba couple as a house help. She worked in restaurants and many social places in Lagos, Abuja and Kaduna. She speaks Anaang as her first language, Yoruba, Hausa, NPE and a bit of English language.

#### **6.3.3.4 Participant D**

This participant is named May in the transcript. She is 67 years old, a farmer and has no formal education. May is the mother to Jo and a mother in-law to NK and Ima. She is a farmer and speaks Ọrọ as her first language, Efik, Ibibio and a spatter of NPE.

#### **6.3.3.5 Participant E**

Participant E is named Aboy. He is a foster son in the family and has been living with the family for years. He is an interpreter in his local church in the village. Aboy

is 20 years old, an undergraduate student and speaks English, NPE, Ọrọ, Efik and Ibibio.

#### **6.3.3.6 Participant F**

Participant F is named Maama, she is seven years old daughter to Jo and Ima. She is in primary two in the village primary school. She was born in Lagos, relocated with her parents to Kaduna at the age of five and returned with her parents from Kaduna to the village just six months before the research commenced.

### **6.4 Observable Language Use in the Community**

Generally, language use in the community is dependable upon such factors as who is speaking to whom, what they are talking about, the environment they are at the time of the interaction. There are other observable situations like the age of the speakers, the network ties and level of formal education attained. The other factor which determines language use in the community is where the speakers live and the domain of the interaction. The observation data indicate that the elderly people in the community i.e, from 50 years and above, especially from the low educational level and also sedentary class use more of the regional languages such as the Ọrọ language in their communication than the people between the age range of 49 and below. It was also observed that this class of people communicate by means of two different codes at a time but this could differ depending on the domain where the interaction takes place. It is not rare to see them interacting in standard Ọrọ and NPE, Ọrọ and Efik, Ọrọ and Ibibio, etc. What was not common was to see them engaging in multiple languages as other speakers did. Language use also differs along the line of what jobs the speakers are engaged in i.e their status in the society. People who are highly educated engage in bilingualism involving English and/or NPE and one indigenous language. Young people especially undergraduate students make use of multiple languages which involve NPE, English, slangs, and indigenous languages. Younger children from advantaged background in the community play with codes especially using English.

Below, I present and discuss data gathered through my ethnographic participant observation of the Ọrọ community. The data is presented to show interactions based on the age of speakers, level of formal education, place of residence and then some of

the domains. Perhaps it would help to also provide some information along the functions of the various codes used by participants in the interactions where necessary, but that is not the very focus of this chapter. Again, I will like to state here that it is not very easy for one to understand the reasons why codes are switched in this community because code-switching happens to be the norm of the community and it is considered as a conversational strategy (Blom & Gumperz, 1972).

### **Key to languages**

Qr̩ - bold  
Efik - underlined  
NPE – italics  
Ibibio – underlined + italics  
English – Plain  
Anaang – underlined and bold

#### **6.4.1 Language Use in the Family (A)**

**Example 5**(Extract from Qr̩ 008)

Setting: An open kitchen behind the main building

Jo: *Aboy, bring de mit hie* (pointing to the ground).

(Aboy, bring the meat here)

(Aboy: **Uncle se onyi mu. S’òdòghò mi mkpok dighi?**

(Uncle here is the meat. How would you like me to cut them?)

Jo: *Oke, bi yak mfain [find out]aut sunsi ma nsi k’emu eluonghò idite*

**Koko o, koko o** [calling Ima, his second wife]. *Maama, wie ya Mama de?*

(Koko is a pet name used by most spouses in the community to show their love for each other). *Maama* [turning to his daughter], *where is your mother?*)

(Daddy, I do not know where she has gone. It seems she has gone to buy something)

Jo: *Oya, mek yu run go fain am fo dem Comfort ples*

(*Quickly, run to Comfort’s place and look for her*)

Ima: *Na hu de fain mi? Ai de insaid haus de gif Daniel bres.*

(Who is looking for me? I was inside the house breast-feeding Daniel).

Jo: *Bod [but] wai yu no hie al de shaut we ai de shaut ya nem? Insted mek yu se yu bin de slip, yu kom tok se yu bin de gif Daniel bres.*

(But why didn't you hear all that time I was shouting your name? Instead of you to say you were sleeping, you are claiming to be breastfeeding Daniel).

Ima: *I don du naun. Wetin yu wan sen mi befo?*

(It's enough, why were you looking for me?)

Jo: *Go sho Aboy hau im go kot de mit. Na hau meni tings una wan kuk?*

(Go and show Aboy how he should cut the meat. How many things do you want to cook?)

Mimi: Aunty, please make some pepper soup for me

(Pepper soup is a type of delicacy prepared solely with goat meat, pepper and spices).

Jo: **Eke dighi Etinwa, kong dika sughu s'ofu oluongho idite.**

(Mother of father in-law [addressing the first wife Nko by her son's name], go and also inform them what you intend to cook).

**Nko: Edogho yak ete efre Afang kanga. Den [then] esugho una man ete pepe sup eno Miracle. Eke Maama, afo oboro didie? Oyom eto ebok efere bifo etem nkpo ewen?**

(They say we should cook soup first. Then we will reserve some meat for making pepper soup for Miracle before we can cook other things. Mother to Maama [turning to her co-wife] what is your opinion?)

Jo: **Mma, s'oluongho ete nsi nkpo kanga? Esangha onyi ete efre o [or] ete pepe sup?**

(Mother [addressing his mother], what do you want them to cook first? Is it soup or pepper soup? (Please note that soup in this context is different from the European soup. The Orọ soup is a combination of meat, fish, leaves and herbs)).

**May: Aboy, kpighe una fọ sọk mi nde mfibo kadi kanga. Mu unu elilie enwi enwongho ediyogho ufok, bed [but]onu enine ukid onwi uduku udong uto o. Enu onye onom, mmong suki edongọ k'abang s'onwi edeku onwong o. Onu osu ini nkilie enwongọ ediyogho ufok.**

(Aboy, cut the meat and roast it for me to sip garri [garri = cassava flour] first. Now that it is time to eat, the house is full, when there is work to do everybody runs away. Look, there is no drinking water in the pot, but now that food is ready, the entire house is filled with people).

**Ima: Mma afo anese tang utang. Ebo fien chus [choose]se ebitem idagha ade insted afo tongho complen. Ema etem ukeed nkpo ima, aya abo ke agwo ikubibe.**

(Mother [referring to her mother-in-law], you like to talk. You are told to choose [chus] what you would like to be cooked first; instead you are complaining [complen]. When everything is finished, you will say you were not consulted.

(In some houses where daughters-in-law live with their mothers-in-law, the mothers-in-law make decisions especially in the kitchen business)).

**Jo: Koko das inof, don tok laik dat to ha. Yu no shi is ol.**

(Koko [addressing the second wife], that's enough, mind the way you talk to her as she is old).

The example above provides some kind of information of language use of a family in the Orọ community. There is a mixture of at least three languages in the conversation and several code-switching strategies are employed to achieve communication aim. Although the older generation like May who is actually 67 years reported that they use Orọ at home, here May makes use of the English discourse marker 'but' as can be seen in line 14. The conversation started off in NPE (line 1), but the second speaker ignored the code as he approached his uncle in Orọ code. This is rather surprising as NPE is the

preferential code for most youths within the age range of the speaker. One plausible explanation to this is that the speaker may have chosen the Ọrọ code with his uncle due to the difference in their ages. As a mark of respect, he may have chosen the Ọrọ language which is like a ‘We code’ in the community for elders as it is reported in the choice of language with the older relatives (see 5.10.7 languages spoken with old relatives). A similar study in Port Harcourt by Ihemere (2006:287-288) reports that the older generation of participants preferred to be addressed in Ikwerre which was a we-code for the older generation as this also shows a proof of respect to them.

Jo’s response in line 3 followed the established Ọrọ code by the second speaker, but with English borrowed insertions spoken the Ọrọ way ...*mfain aut* (to find out) into the sentence. ‘M’ is a personal marker in Ọrọ and in this sense is used with *fain* to indicate that the action will be carried out by Jo in person.

Some of the borrowed insertions are also seen in lines 7 *bod*, ‘but’, 12 *den* ‘then’, *pepe sup* ‘pepper soup’, and *bifo* ‘before’. In line 14 there is the *bed* ‘but’ and in line 15 there are insertions like *chus* ‘choose’, *insted* ‘instead’ and *complen* ‘complain’. Note that the *bed* ‘but’ in line 14 is pronounced differently from the *bod* in line 7. Despite the difference in sounds [o and e] which occur interconsonantly, the two sounds do not alter the meaning of the word ‘but’. According to Riehl (2005:149) discourse markers are elements used to organise the conversation process and therefore pragmatically detachable from the language system. The discourse markers in this example aid in transition of the conversation.

A few things have been highlighted in the above example. The role responsibility of Jo is manifested through the text as the head of the family. As the head, he gives instruction as we can see in lines 1, 3, 5, 9, 11, 13 and 16. He seems to cautiously select the languages with which to use with each interlocutor. Although he initiated the conversation in NPE, he noticed the second speaker Aboy responded in Ọrọ despite the fact that they both share the knowledge of NPE. His choice of Ọrọ with his eldest wife and his mother may have been to accommodate them rather than showcasing his authority as the head as it was observed in the Port Harcourt study, see (Ihemere 2006:288). As can be seen in the participants’ biographies, the first wife Nko has just a “spatter” of NPE unlike the second wife Ima who has a high proficiency in NPE. It

would have been viewed as insubordination had he used NPE with Nko and his mother. In the same way, Jo did not speak even a word to Ima his second wife in any other language than NPE. The code-switching in line 15 by Ima is deliberate. Apart from the fact that her mother in-law does not speak NPE fluently, the aim of the switch is to caution her about her unnecessary complaints. If she had said such words eg. *Mma afo anese tang utang* (Mother, you talk too much) to her mother in-law in NPE the weight of her intentions would have been less. The choice of Anaang is to let her mother in-law feel her anger and disrespect which is totally unacceptable in the Oꝛo culture. This disrespect to his mother made Jo to snap at Ima in line 16 ***Koko das inof, don tok laik dat to ha. Yu no shi is ol*** (don't talk like that to her [his mother], you know she is old).

Although he has maintained NPE as the code choice with Ima, the use of NPE in line 16 is to reprimand his wife for disrespecting his mother as well as conceal the anger from his mother who may not understand everything he said to the wife. Even when he showed his anger in line 16 with Ima for daring to speak to his mother without respect.

Another thing that is also observed is that turn taking is not exclusively respected in the Oꝛo community. We can see some overlaps in lines 6, 13 and 16 as examples of overlap and incomplete turn. Nevertheless, the interlocutors either self selected as it is the case in lines 6, 13 and 15 or were actually assigned the turns which they spoke as we can see through the text.

#### **6.4.2 Example 6: Language Use in the Family (B)**

A = B's older sister – she is 32 years old, trading on fish and sea products. She speaks some level of English, very good NPE, Oꝛo and Efik.

B = Head of family – he is 28, engaged in fishing net business, speaks English, NPE, Oꝛo, a bit of Yoruba and Efik.

C = B's niece and A's daughter – she is 12 years old and a pupil in the village primary school. She speaks Oꝛo, a spatter of English and NPE.

D = A and B's mother – she is 51 years of age; she sells fish at the community beach. She speaks Oꝛo, NPE, Efik and a bit of French.

E = A's husband – he is 36 yrs of age and a fisherman. He speaks French, Oꝛo, Yoruba, and NPE.

F = B's wife – she is trading on fish and speaks Ọrọ, NPE and Efik very well.

1. A. **Brother nkunluoṅṅo idisughu nsingi nnọ fi**

Brother, I had wanted to tell you something

2. B. **kanyi sughu ku mmọ nkei**

Go ahead, I'm listening

3. A. **Mkpọ omu nwa afu ene ma oyo mi ọdiọk eti eti. Omuọ oyo mi amai sedoḡḡo kono onyi etei ọnọ onyi nkilie.**

What your wife has done to my child is too bad. She got my child beaten as if she is the one that feeds her.

4. C. **sem sem sem! Alala fi o. Ninghi osonu nka afu? Ufak esh made ofu?**

Hey, look hear, stop it there. Who is your mate? Don't you know your age mates?

5. B. **afu nyi ime kanga yak ekei so onwi ki ki osughu**

Have patience, let us listen to what she has to say

6. A. **Efok etu ndọk oku** “Ekpogho iko ama ebiet owo, owo oboro” *Abeg, ai no get yua taim jọọ.*

The Efik people have an adage which says “the guilty is always afraid” Excuse me I do not have your time.

7. C. *Ai sori fo yu.* **Ambem fi k'okpodighi su ki o.**

I am sorry for you. I do not blame you in any way.

8. B. **Wimen una too sabi to de tọk tọk. Small thing naw una go kwọre. Nama iluṅṅo yak nkei, den mek una kari una wahala go insaid de haus.**

Women, you talk too much. Every little thing you always quarrel. If you do not want me to settle the matter, then take your trouble and get inside the house.

The conversation in example 6 above had progressed from line 1 to 3 in a single Ọrọ code, but in line 4 a sensitive issue emerged which caused the speaker to mix her language codes. Issues pertaining to respect in the Ọrọ community is always treated as sacrosanct. The speaker “A” had reported that “C” beat her child as if she was responsible for her upkeep. This angered “C” who felt she was being insulted. Her response in line 4 with some English insertions... **Ninghi osonu nka afu? Ufak esh made (age mate) ofu?** “Don't you know your age mates” is a protest against “A”'s language use which made “C” felt she was being insulted. This outburst of anger with insertions led “A” to changing into three different codes of Efik, Yoruba and NPE as can be seen in line 6 “Ekpogho iko ama ebiet owo, owo oboro” *Abeg, ai no get yua*

*taim joo*. The initial switch is to quote the Efik adage while the NPE and Yoruba switches were used to blush the accusation of insulting “C”. It appears that code mixing came in from line 4 as all the participants mixed their languages from there. The final code-switch from “B” in line 8 *Wimen una too sabi to de tok tok. Small thing naw una go kwore. Nama iluonọ yak nkei, den mek una kari una wahala go insaid de haus* was to berate the two uncontrollable women. Unlike in the first example where NPE was the dominant language, the second example has Ọrọ as the dominant code in the conversation. However, one thing that is clear is that none of these conversations is without either a total code-switch or the use of discourse markers. In many instances, conversations in the community involve the use of inter and intra sentential switches as well as direct translation from the regional languages to English and/or NPE as can be seen in the following examples.

#### 6.4.3 Example 7

##### (Language Use Among Two Male Friends).

A = a business man who is also highly educated. He seems to be about 42 years. He speaks very good English and Ibibio language.

B= a teacher in one of the secondary schools in the community. He has a good formal education and speaks English, NPE, Ibibio, Ọrọ and Efik.

Setting: Veranda of B’s house

1. A: *Ami ndo owo nkeseghe nnie* personal business *mmi*

I am someone who had a personal business.

2. B: Are you serious, so *nsikitippe ndien* with your business?

Are you serious? What then happened to your business?

3. A: My brother *ado* a very long story. Even *nsikana ntatang nwod* anybody.

It is a very long story. I find it difficult to tell people.

4. B: (...) (Shaking his head as a sign of pitying his friend)

5. A: Well, *nduokko idorenyin ke* I will rise up again.

I have not lost hope that I will rise up again.

6. B: Why not? *Ibagha owo mi* pass through *ke idomo ke ederimbot em*, but as long as *uwem abagha, aya* make it again.

Why not? There is nobody alive who does not pass through trial, but as long as there

is life, you will make it again.

7. A: (nodding his head in support of what B said).

8. B: *K'usuyak yak ekikere mfo a* wo wonder as if *ado* a failure.

Don't allow your thoughts to be wondering about as if you are a failure.

9. A: (silent).

10. B: *Abro, ami ukid fien nte* fighter. *Ado* too late *adi* resign to fate.

Brother, I have seen you as a fighter. It is too late to resign to fate.

11. A: *Sosono* my brother. *Yak nka ke nkenie* appointment ye owo ke nkanika inang ndubi em.

Thank you my brother. Let me take my leave because I have an appointment with someone at 4 o'clock this evening.

In the above interaction, B wanted to hire a manager with a lot of business experiences to manage his fishing business. B does not have a lot of experience as the business was managed by his son who has left for college. As B took over the business from his son, he discovered it was tedious and decided to hire an experienced manager. A was recommended by B's business partner as a competent and honest person. As the two interactants got to know each other, A had to explain to B of his past business adventures. Both A and B have the English language and Ibibio in common. As observed by Lowi (2005:1393) when multilinguals come in contact with people who share their resources, they may draw upon all their languages to communicate. This is seen in the above examples as both A and B are having a smooth conversation in two languages. A kick-started the conversation in Ibibio language and then code-switched into English using the possessive pronoun *personal business mmi* (line 1). The switch at this point serves to point out to B that the business he is talking about is his and not another person's. By this information, A succeeds in conveying very vital information about himself as the right candidate B could hire as he has got experiences of running a similar business which was also personal to him.

The response by B is seen as somewhat surprising as he asked A in line 2 "Are you serious, so *nsikitippe ndien* with your business?" This kind of response is common among Nigerians when they are given a piece of information which they were not expecting. This surprise further made B to ask A "so *nsikitippe ndien*" (so, what has happened) what happened to A's business which made him to look for the job in

question. The switch by B from English to Ibibio in line 2 is symbolic of his interest in knowing what happened to A's business. The choice of the phrase *nsikitippe ndien* by B is to show the deep concern and interest in understanding what circumstances could have led to A, who had owned a business to start hunting for a new job. A's response is more of a suspense as he responded in line 3 "My brother *ado* a very long story. Even *nsikana ntatang nwod* anybody". The insertion of the Ibibio word *ado* in the middle of an English sentence is evidence of an intrasentential sentence, yet it seems that A is not willing to continue with the discussion. In an attempt to shift the topic, A introduces the next segment by choosing to complete a large part of the sentence in Ibibio. More information is embedded in the use of the word *ntatang* (I cannot speak) derived by doubling the verb root *tang* (*speak*). The shift in this line serves to show the unwillingness of A to continue with the discussion. This is again confirmed by B's initial silence and continual shaking of his head. He could notice that A was going through a difficult situation which made him not willing to open up to people about why his business failed.

The introduction of the discourse marker *well* in the beginning of line 5 marks a successful completion of the business turn and introduces a shift in topic. This shift is complimented by B in his response in line 6 *why not?* The topic has shifted to sympathy and encouragement as can be seen further in line 6 *but as long as uwem abagha, aya make it again* (as long as there is life, you will make it again). Here code-switching goes beyond facilitating interaction between two business men to revealing the world view and beliefs of the interactants. They share the same belief that as long as one is still alive, he could still make it in life, while also noting that failure is when someone gives up easily without fighting back as seen in line 7 *but as long as uwem abagha, aya make it again (but as long as there is life, you will make it again)*.

The example contains two languages of Ibibio and English. Interactions like this take place in most cases between people with a high level of formal education. As can be seen, they alternate between English and a regional language. The choice of the two languages may have been chosen to suit the topic of the discussion. It could also be because A wanted to present himself suitable for the job by showing his competence in the English language. Besides, in discussing certain topics in Orò some languages are deemed to be ideal. The above discussion centres on business and

politics, it most of the times appear in bilingual discourses (Adegbija 2004; Igboanusi 2008). This confirms the findings in chapter 5 that people with higher formal education use language differently from others.

In the following example, the speech interactants make use of three languages with their children although the setting and participants have shifted to parent and children. Remember that in chapter 5, 49 out of 200 participants had reported a preference for English while speaking to their children making it the second highest choice of language with children (see 5.10.8). The speakers make use of some speech fillers and both inter and intrasentential code-switches to achieve communication needs.

#### 6.4.4 Example 8: (Sample Conversation between Children and Parents)

Setting: At the Balcony of the house of A preparing chin chin (baking flour).

Participants:

A = Mother, 36 years old, teacher

B = Father, 48 years old, business man

C = Child 1, 8 years old girl

D = Child 2, 6 years old girl

E = Grand mother

1. C: Mom (..) would you please permit me to sip usasang garri and beans tomorrow morning?  
(Home fried cassava flour)
2. A. No please.
3. D. Mom how about me?
4. A. I said no
5. C. But mom you promised
6. B. Sharrup. Can't you listen to your mom
7. C. But (...)dad she promised
8. A. When did I promise?
9. D. That day your friend came visiting
10. A. Which of my friends?
11. C. The one with eem (...) chuckles (1.0) **okpono udip** (big stomach).
12. A. What nonsense! Get to sleep, **ekelei ile ulagha omu** (go to sleep now). Is that how to describe someone older than you? Where did you learn that from?

13. E. But **onyi asanga m'udip nau** (but she is pregnant nau)

The first child started the conversation in English which is the norm among children in the community. Her switch to Efik in line 1 “usasang garri” is rather surprising. Both parents and grand mother are Ọrọ speakers and from my observations in their house, they rarely use Efik. But her switch in this case was to make a request to her mother by referring to the name of the garri flour as it is commonly known in the community. Her specification for usasang garri serves to make a difference between the particular garri (cassava flour) she wants and the one that is common in the community. This demand is in line with the thinking of the community that the garri flour fried in the community is of a higher quality than the ones imported from the northern part of Cross River State which is sold commonly in the community . In chapter One of this thesis I mentioned that Ọrọ is a fishing community which is surrounded by water . Although a few members of the community engage in small scale farming, their products are hardly enough to serve the needs of the ever growing community. This reason makes them import foods from the neighbouring states.

The filler in line 11 *eem* followed by the chuckles and silence is to introduce the Ọrọ phrase **okpono udip** (big stomach). The switch here qualifies the referent and also distinguishes her from other friends of the mother. The switch by the child in this line is deliberate as she was not sure whether the woman was pregnant or just had a protruding abdomen. **Okpono udip** (big stomach) is a sort of generic term in Ọrọ which could be used for pregnant women as well as some fat ones with distended abdomen. It could also mean that the child was avoiding the use of the “pregnant” due to way the society interprets some things. The union of a man and woman which leads to pregnancy is regarded as sacred in the community and should not be talked of by children. Children who are heard discussing such things are branded “spoilt”.

Whereas the child’s switch in the previous line was to tag the actual referent, the mother’s switch in line 12 *Get to sleep, ekelei ile ulagha omu* (go to sleep now) is for emphasis. She had passed the command for the children to go to bed in English, but the children were surprised she told to sleep while it was still afternoon . Then she issued the second command in Ọrọ emphasising that the children should go to sleep which made the children understand that she was “dead” serious. Code-switching has been

identified as a tool used to show emphasis in bi-multilingual speech. In line 13, the grandmother in defence of the grandchildren emphasised that the woman in question was actually pregnant; hence, there was no need to make a fuss about what the child said. Notice how she started the sentence with the English marker *but*. The insertion of the discourse marker *but* is to argue and strongly emphasise that the kids are not actually to blame.

#### 6.4.5 Example 9: (Interaction between a Mother and her Two Children).

A = mother, 29 years, has attained a bit of formal education.

B = daughter 1. She is 7 years and in primary 2

C = daughter 2. She is 5 years old and in primary 1

1. A: *welkom, hau skul tode?*

Welcome, how was school today?

2. Good afternoon maama, *maama, I bin no wel fo school.*

Good afternoon maama, I was not feeling well at school

3. A: **Eyaaaa. Sekene fi dighi mmatan ami?**

Exclamation (in Yoruba). What happened to you my 'White' (beautiful) daughter?

4. Maama, touch me my body is hot

5. A. (turning to 'C'), *Nne, wai yu no po wata fo ya sista bodi as hi de hot so?*

Nne, why didn't you pour water on your sister's body when she was hot?

6. C: silence

7. A: *Abi yu def, no bi yu I de ask kwesion?*

Are you deaf, are you not the person I am talking to?

8. C: Sobs. Maama please *I wan do ma asainmen. My aunty (class teacher) tok se if peson didn't do im asainmen she go bit bit him*

Please mother, I want to do my assignment. My class teacher said if we didn't do the assignment, she will beat him/her.

In the above example, the mother is not very educated as she only acquired a primary six certificate. She is a petit trader and also manages the house with her two kids. The kids are in the local primary school but it appears the mother would prefer them to speak English at home. The two children managed to switch between English and NPE

in such a way that it becomes difficult to draw a line between where English stops and where NPE commences.

#### 6.4.6 Example 10: (Birthday Party)

**(Two Secondary School students talking about an upcoming birthday party).**

A = 14 year old boy, in SS1. He is the celebrant

B = 15 year old girl. She is in SS2 and the best friend of A

1. A: Da bet day (birthday) mmi ebinanam die? Have you got any plans?

(My friend), what are we going to do on my birthday? Have you got any plans?

2. B: Not really. You nko? Wetin be ya plan?

3. A: Mmm, nkekere ke I will buy two chicken, two crates of minerals and two crates of Malta. Mkpama edinam ufra frai unen ke chicken ado.

Mmm, I thought of buying two chicken, two crates of mineral drink and two crates of malta drink. I would have preferred to do fried chicken with those chickens.

4. B: Enhe! Se mkpo, mme invite class mates mi. How on earth do you think ke two-two crates of drink will be sufficient for my friends and yours? Nsimagha mkpo abuud. Akpedo ke okuk ibagha se ekpenam this year, then yak e shelve the plan. Ado better than adi dia ndok k'iso owo.

(Exclamation). Look I have invited my classmates. How on earth do you think that two crates of drinks will be sufficient for my friends and yours? I do not like anything that brings shame. If there is no money to celebrate it this year, then lets postpone the plan. It is better than to be ashamed in front of guests.

The examples above are cases of language use among school children in the community. The last example has to do with two secondary school students planning the birthday of one of them. They appear to have no restriction on the choice of languages during the interaction. The three languages of Ibibio, English and NPE in the above interaction are the basic choices for young people within this age range and also the best choices for people with a higher formal education in the community.

#### 6.4.7 Example 11: (A Conversation between a Man, His Friends and His Son)

Setting: under a mango tree in front of the house drinking palmwine

Participants:

A = B's son: a young man of 28, seeking employment. Speaks Ọrọ, Efik, NPE and English.

B = house owner: 63 years old. A retired soldier who served the nation in many states of Nigeria. He speaks Ọrọ, Efik, Hausa, Igbo, Yoruba, NPE and English

C = B's friend 2: a political ward secretary, 48 years old, speaks Ọrọ, Efik, Ibibio, NPE and English.

D = B's friend 3: he is 36 years and a political chieftain in the community. He speaks Ọrọ, Efik, Ibibio, NPE, Yoruba and English. He is a lawyer by profession.

1. B. Eh ada, saladighi? Asanga adi mo m?

Eh friend, how are you? Have you come here?

2. C. Ehh alagha ada. Nkudogho yak nsanga ndinsughu usi nnọ fi.

Yes, good morning Friend. I decided to come and say hello to you.

3. **Obuk use nkukid fi. Ima ufọk ile otu?**

It's been a long time I saw you. The people at home are they well?

4. D. **Mmi oyem edeni inue ote?**

This drink is it good in the mouth (is it tasty?)

5. **Eh, madam, mkpo s'obono dighi nne?** (greet the researcher)

Eh, madam, how is everything?

6. A. **alagha Baba**

Good morning father (addressing B in particular).

7. B. **alagha nde, eh uso s'akaka nsi?**

Good morning too, oh son where did you go to?

8. A. **Baba nkunka** farmers project **omu governor Udom ene** ọnọ graduates

Baba I went to the farmers' project organised by governor Udom for graduates.

9. C. Oh yes! **Nkunkei** the announcement **ku** Radio **mkpong**

Oh yes, I heard the announcement [of the programme] on Radio yesterday.

10. B. **S'abanga nsi uso?** Will they pay you salary?

What is it about my son? Will they pay you salary?

11. A. Yes Baba, **edogho ku meno enyin** full support.

Yes Baba, [they]said we shall be given full support

12. D. **Nda, sughu mma nkunsughosughu** before now, governor Udom **ene mkpo** to the extent that **ami ntake decision idi** vote **onyi ku** 2019.

My friend, like I have said before, governor Udom has worked so hard to the extent that [I] have taken the decision to vote for him in 2019

13. C. well, **afu onu** subject to your own opinion. Yes, Udom has worked but our economy is not improving. **Yak eyak ufang eno onung onwi man ese sughu mkpo**  
Well, you are subject to your opinion. Yes, Udom has worked but our economy isn't improving. Let us give another person a chance so we can see how things will be come 2019. Anyway, 2019 is a long way from now.

14. D. In that case, **yak ami n** excuse **efu**

In that case, let me excuse you.

**adila** come 2019. Anyway, 2019 is still far from now.

In the interaction above, B with his friends were outside drinking palmwine and interacting using a sort of monolingual Ọrọ before the sudden arrival of A (B's son) who returns to meet his father and two of his friends sitting in front of the house. As tradition demands, he said his greetings in Ọrọ. His father responded in Ọrọ as well as demanding to know where he was coming from. A's response came in form of a switch from what Myers-Scotton (1993a) would have called unmarked choice (Ọrọ) to a marked code of English thereby making it an intrasentential switch as can be seen in line 3 *sir nkunka farmers project omu governor Udom ene ọnọ graduates*. The English phrase 'Farmers' Project' is used here to capture its original form since the language has no direct equivalent of the term. The introduction of a new participant in line 6 led to the use of code mixture from line 8 to the end of the conversation. The use of the phrase *farmers' project* in line 6 marked a shift in topic from usual conversation in Ọrọ to politics. For about three minutes the conversation remains in Ọrọ despite the fact that

the participants have knowledge of many languages together. Somehow, they managed to subdue these languages until another participant was introduced into the conversation. By this act, the participants confirm the activation model of Green (2008) that bilinguals in a conversation do not always deactivate their other languages completely in conversation but could call it in at any given moment.

The examples above are typical ways in which languages are used in the home domain of the Q̄r̄ community. In what follows, I discuss data obtained from youths in the community.

#### 6.4.8 Example 12: Conversation among Four Youths in the Community

Name: Miracle

Age: 17

Occupation: student

Languages spoken: Ọrọ, Efik, NPE, English and Anaang.

Name: David

Age: 18

Occupation: student

Languages spoken: NPE, English, Ibibio and Ọrọ

Name: Eka

Age: 18

Occupation: student

Languages spoken: English, NPE, Ibibio, a few Igbo. Yoruba, a few Ọrọ

She acquired English as L1, learned NPE at school and environment, acquired Ibibio from mother, got Yoruba from father. She learned Ọrọ from her boyfriend whose grand-mother is Ọrọ. Eka lives in Uyo but schools in Owerri, the native town of Igbo language.

Name: Odudu

Age: 16

Occupation: student

Languages spoken: English, NPE, Ibibio, Ọrọ, Anaang

1. David. *Ai no no wich kain smel de kom from behain so*

I don't know what kind of smell is coming in from behind us

2. Eka. *Abo die?*

What did you say?

3. David. **Nku ku ma ankod a andastan nsuto ulu omu ofid odio mu** from the bag (back) o

I mean I don't understand the type of smell that is coming in through the back here [pointing behind the kitchen].

4. Eka. *Nko nto nau*, what other smell did you expect?

5. David. *Al dis kain ting enu gud for someone's helt o*

All these kinds (of smells) are not good for someone's health (**o**) (the 'O' is added for emphasis)

6. Odudu. *Mek una wait o, na hu kom de shit fo dat toilet nau?*

Ask me o, (a sort of saying ‘can you imagine’) I can’t understand why this boy would not allow me to have peace.

In this example, the participants of the speech event fall within the age grade of 16-24 and are all in school. As noted in 5.9.4 (linguistic profile of participants, NPE is reported to be spoken by 172 out of 200 participants. This number is higher than is reported for other languages including even the regional languages. NPE is not reported in Oꝛo community only but it is also common among youths especially those in the higher institutions. The conversation starts off in NPE, but the second speaker self selects and responds in Ibibio, a language she acquired as L2. The use of Ibibio in response to the first speaker marks two things: her lack of interest in the ensuing conversation and superiority. This is confirmed by her next response in line 4 *Nko nto nau*, what other smell did you expect? The use of the word *nau* followed by the intrasentential switch in line 4 points to her authority over the first speaker.

In response to the first speaker, Eka used Ibibio again and laces it with English as ...*nko nto nau*. What other smell did you expect? The first speaker continues in English and code-switched into NPE with Oꝛo insertions ...*al dis kain ting enu gud* for someone’s helt o. As the argument continues, another speaker Odudu joins from across the room and re-introduces NPE to which the second speaker responded in another code-switching of English and Oꝛo ...ask me o ! **amfak se ene** this boy **na ma eyak mi nkei mkpo k’ utong o**. The third speaker finally retreats from the conversation in 8) with Ibibio as a complete sentence.

The conversation above is typical of students’ language choices in this community. But my surprises lie in the fact that although the first speaker had initiated the conversation in NPE, Eka, the second speaker, decided to respond in Ibibio instead. From their reported repertoires and language use, the second and third speakers self-reported speaking more of NPE and English among friends, especially if the friends are studying in a higher institution as well. Although they have mixed their choices based on who they are, I do not see this as a contrast from whSat they had reported earlier. This form of language use is common in the community and code mixing and code-switching in conversations occur below the level of consciousness of the speakers (Ihemere, 2007:276). That is, speakers engaged in conversations do not predetermine the type of codes they will employ in the conversation, but being an

unconscious effort, could choose to use any code within their repertoires. Yet speakers are naturally aware of what the preferred language choice should be in an ensuing interaction and therefore switch to manipulate or define the situation as they wish and to convey nuances of meaning and personal intentions. Based on this understanding, speaker 2 would have chosen the Ibibio language to convey personal intention as she was not happy about the complaint by the first speaker.

#### 6.4.9 Example 13: (Conversation among Four Undergraduate Students)

Setting: Resting in an uncompleted building

1. = Youth 1 = a third year undergraduate student, 21 years and speaks Oꝛo, NPE, English and a bit of French.

2. = Youth 2 = final year undergraduate student, he is 20 years and speaks Oꝛo, Efik, Igbo, Yoruba, NPE and English.

3. = Youth 3 = a third year student, he is 19 years old, speaks Oꝛo, Efik, Ibibio, NPE and English.

4. = Girl 1 = she is 21, a final year student, speaks Oꝛo, Efik, NPE and English.

1. Youth 1. *Oh boy, wat kain sun bi dis tode? Yestede de weda no hot laik dis. Dis sun fit mek peson waka*

Oh boy! What kind of sun shines today? Yesterday the sun was not as hot as it is today. This kind of sun can cause someone to die (waka in the real sense is to *walk* but in this sense it is used to represent death).

2. Youth 2. *Abeg lif am oh, na my best weda be dis. Insted mek yu tank God weh gif de sun, yu de hie de complen. Go ask oyibo piple de importans of sun. Som taim de sun no kom aut atal atal.*

Please leave it, it is my best weather. Instead of thanking God for giving us this sun, you are here complaining. Go and ask the White people the importance of the sun. Sometimes, the sun does not come out at all at all [in their country].

3. Youth 3. *Wow, wow, wow! Oh boy, look, that babe mek sense o.*

Wow! That girl makes sense (that girl is pretty)

4. Youth 1. Ah ah don't you know her? *Na Mos babe be dat na*

Ah ah, don't you know her? That is Mos' girlfriend.

5. Youth 2. Hai, na wie yu de go? Abi yu wan mek I kom wok yu daun?

Hi, where are going to? Would you like me to walk you down [to your destination]?

6. Girl. *Hei ma guys, I de hail una O. Hau area naa? I de hori go somwie. No nid mek yu kom si mi of.*

Hey my guys, I hail you. How is the area? I'm hurrying to somewhere.

There is no need for you to see me off.

7. Youth 1. Gosh! The girl *na slay queen O* Gosh! The girl is a big girl (not "big" in the sense of size).

8. Girl. What did you say? Did you just call me a "slay queen"?

9. Youth 3. *Bifo nko? Yu no no se yu bi slay queen? Abi yu just de fom ignorant?*

Didn't you know that before now? Are you just pretending not to know that you are a slay queen? (Slay queen is a slang term used by youths to refer to girls who date rich people eg. Politicians. They are respected by their friends and colleagues because they are powerful.

In examples 12 and 13, the language use among the youths seems to show a similar pattern of code-switching and code mixing. It is always switching between either NPE and English or a regional language. But the most significant language used among the youths in interaction as seen from the examples is NPE. In example 12, the youths did not make use of slangs because of the domain where the speech event took place. But in example 13, loads of slangs are used maybe because as friends, they had no restriction in making jokes among themselves. For instance the use of the word *waka* in line 1 which means 'to walk' is being used to represent the effect of the scorching sun on peoples' health which could actually lead to 'death'. The way the word is used also hints on the world view of the youths in this interaction as they regard death as 'walking through the phase of life'. Other instances are in line 4 with the use of words like *babe mek sense o*. Babe as it used in this context represents a 'beautiful girl' but when they added *mek sense*, it applies rather to her superb appearance as being

‘meaningful and flawless’. For something especially a lady to make sense, it must appeal to the senses as beautiful. The way NPE is used in Ọrọ makes the language the more interesting especially in adapting words and phrases from different domains of language use to make conversations more palatable. For example, in describing the process of preparing local dishes, words that are used in the law courts are heard very often as in the example below.

**Example 14** (words adopted are in bold faces)

1. Mum: dat meat and fish don boil so?

Has the meat and fish boiled?

2. Son: Yes o o

3. Mum: abeg **implicate** salt and pepe, **attach** oil, magi and **sentence** the crayfish and other small small fish dem to death, den involve the leaves. After 10 minutes, discharge the pot from fire. Yu de hie me so?

Please, add salt and pepper, add oil, magi and crayfish together with other tiny fishes before adding the leaves. After 10 minutes, remove the pot from fire. Do you understand me?

4. Son. Yes mum. Shuoo, this food go good to **download** with eba O

Yes mum. But this food will be very good to eat with eba ‘garri flour’

5. Mum. No wori, I don already **detain** some fufu fo cooler, when time rich, wi go gif dem **amnesty**. Wen e don **process** finish wi go **delete** dem.

No need to worry, I have already kept fufu in the cooler; when the time comes we shall give them **amnesty**. After digestion, we shall excrete (delete) them.

The uses of such words as ‘implicate’, ‘attach’, ‘detain’, ‘amnesty’ and ‘sentence’ are words used in the court environment but which have been extended to the home recipe in the use of NPE in the community. The Ọrọ community falls within the Niger Delta region of the country which has seen a lot of unrest due to issues of marginalization by the government over the years. Most people especially youths in this region have witnessed or been involved in many court and police cases where these words are used. In cases where crude oil pipe lines are vandalized, a lot of youths are usually arrested, detained, tried and sentenced. Some of them think they are innocent of the crime they are being accused of but may actually be implicated because of their network of friends known to the law enforcement as capable of committing such crimes. At some point the government grants them amnesty and incorporates them back to the society. Others

like ‘download’, ‘process’ and ‘delete’ are words commonly used in computer environment. But in this case, the word *download* is used to represent eating while *process* means digestion and *delete* completes the action of digestion through excretion. The use of slangs in NPE and even the other languages spoken in the community have become the secret weapon used by some youths to express their feelings in the community. In most cases, they use these words to exclude adults or people who do not belong to their network. These words add beauty to NPE as much as it makes it a unique language in the community.

### **6.5 Ingroup/ Network Language Use**

In most cases, language use among close friends or network of friends is for solidarity or identity among members of the ingroup. Here, there is apparently no control of the way languages are used, thus it could include abusive languages, slangs, swear words, etc. Since the members belong to the same ingroup, there is often no offence attached when such words are used. This situation can be confirmed from the following examples.

#### **Example 15 (in a Betting Pool)**

1. A = 32
2. B = 30
3. C = 27

1. A. Brebre card a a

Play the whot

2. B. Comon, keep shut. Afo nu commander?

Come on be quiet. Are you the commander?

3. A. look at this bush meat, ami kedesughu ndisime onu nda?

Look at this “bush meat”, Am I the one you are messing with?

4. C. Nda ebrebre cad a. Ofid ofid efu enu bonkup.

Guys play on the cards. All of you are “bong com” (a term used in a friendly manner to refer to foolish act or people).

5. A. All of una na oloshi (oloshi is a Yoruba word for thief).

All of you are thieves.

### Example 16

1. T: Hey, whats up? Why is your face like that?  
Hey, whats happening? Why is your face like that

2. H: *Oh boy, your guy don fuck up well well.*  
Oh boy, your friend has messed up too well

3. T: *wetin happen?*  
What happened?

4. H: *I dey de ansa fon cal fo ma rum without even suspecting se that **old layer** don kom haid fo ma rum. As I just de tok na so she kom commot de hala fo mi. De thing weh de wori mi nau na de moni weh she tok se she go bring fo me. Now she don vex de go dia haus.*

I was in my room answering a phone call without any suspicion that the “old layer” was hiding in my room. As I was talking, she came out from her hiding and shouted at me. The only concern I have now is the money she promised to bring for me. Now she has become so angry and has left to their house.

5. T. Oh no! But ma guy, you should understand that you no fuck up. You are the master planner and executioner at the same time. Forget the babe, she go come beg you with time.

In examples 15 and 16, the friends use language that would look like an insult on each other but which they do not frown at. Such words are only permissible within an ingroup but could actually be taken as insolence outside the ingroup setting. In example 9, the friend makes use of words like *old layer* in place of mentioning the name of the person he was referring to. The use of such phrase as *old layer*, a term which refers to an old chicken who has stopped laying of eggs to refer to his girlfriend is absolutely not acceptable and this could be why he refused to mention the name of the girl. ‘Old layer’ used by H here shows that he has no genuine feelings for his girlfriend as the term is derogatory and refers originally to a chicken who has stopped laying of eggs, but in this case is used to depict a lady who has given birth to children or perhaps has stopped bearing children. Some words used especially among NPE speakers in the community go a long way to show how intimate the interactants are or how distant they are. The use of the word by H provides further explanation to their

kind of relationship and whoever listened to the conversation will immediately understand that he (H) does not like his girlfriend. On the otherhand, T deliberately ignores his friend's comments about his girlfriend and rather encourages his friend not to see himself as a disappointment. In this case, he shows solidarity towards his friend.

**Example 17:** (A is B's girlfriend who has come to see B over an allegation that he is dating another girl. C here refers to the researcher. Both A and B are believers in a Pentecostal church in the community).

1. A: Brother **nko o**

Brother I greet you

2. B: Yes sister, **saladighi nne?**

Yes, sister, how is it my dear?

3. A: **Ediok ekagha. Nkundoho yak nsanga ndise fi sia konu onyi su mmunluono idikid fi ibanga**

Not too bad. I thought of coming to see you because there is something I would like to talk to you about.

4. B: Hope there is no problem?

5. A: Not at all, but **mmunluongo yak afo onu sincere ma mi. Onwi odogho k'ofu noluongo idilo sister Afiong.** If that is true, why didn't you say it to me?

Not at all, but I would like you to be sincere with me. Someone informed me that you now want to marry sister Afiong. If that is true, why didn't you say it to me?

6. B: Jesus Christ! How can you even think of such things? I expected you to know better than that. **Enwi eme mkpo onwi o.** You are my betrothed and **nnu ok ma afu.**

Jesus Christ! (Holding his head in his hands). People do not like other people's things. You are my betrothed and I am okay with you.

7. A: **Mbok brother** forgive me. It's a mistake and **nwongo ku mmandiyak onwi su ki e sepret enyin o.**

Please, brother, forgive me. It's a mistake and I swear that I will not allow anybody to separate us.

The above example differs from the conversation in example 10. Although the example here also indicates language use among lovers, the way A and B use language here shows some level of respect and love towards each other. There is no mention of abusive words but rather words like *my dear are used*. Each was willing to understand the other and therefore avoid conflict in their relationship. As I mentioned earlier in example 10, language use does not only portray the closeness, it also portrays the distance as in 10 above.

## 6.6 Domain of Religion

In chapter 5, I mentioned that religion was one variable that determines language use in the community. The presence of Pentecostal churches in the community influences the ways languages are used in the community; they engage in more language mixing as compared to the orthodox and protestant churches. In this sub section, I will present data together with the discussion on how language is used across the major churches I observed during the ethnographic fieldwork. The data presented here was collected from the two locations in Oro . To have an idea of language use in the churches, the data is arranged in a table format and it relates each church with the way languages are used in the churches. Some of the examples provided are from video and audio recordings made during church services, at child dedication ceremonies and at funeral services in the community. Sometimes it was not possible to record certain events in the churches on video, but in order not to create or awaken the curiosity of fellow worshippers, I only used field notes which gave the impression I was taking down notes of what was preached. Six churches were observed and a total of twelve church services were attended in six different villages. All the named events are performed by various church denominations in the community.

**Table 33 ummary of language use in 6 churches in Oro**

	Urban churches			Rural churches		
	Methodist	DLBC	Redeem	Mount Zion	Apostolic	Catholic
Date of visit	4/8/13	25/8/13	6/10/13	20/10/13	1/9/13	22/9/13
Locality	Oron town	Outskirts of the town	Hill with a very thick population	Rural village (Atak Oro).	Rural village	Rural village

Language s used	Code mixture of English, NPE, Efik. (provides interpreta tion into Efik)	Code mixture of English and other languages (interpreted in Efik)	English without interpretation (there is a separate church for Efik listeners)	Mixture of English and NPE but interpreted into Efik (this was perhaps due to my presence)	Efik with mixture of English and Oro	Efik with mixture of English, Oro and Efik
Bible reading	EnglishEf ik	English Efik	English	English	Efik	Efik
Hymns	English	English projected on the wall	English	Efik (I did not see any hymn book in English)	Efik	Efik
Choruses	5 (2 English, 3 Efik)	2 (all in English)	6 (all in English)	7 (2 English, 2 Efik and 3 Oro )	5 (2 Efik, 3 Oro )	2 (all in Efik)
Opening prayer	English	English (interpreted into Efik directly from the pulpit)	English	Efik	Efik	Efik
Sunday school teaching	English	English and Efik (4 separate classes for adult men, adult women, youth and children)	English	Code mixture of English and NPE (interpreted into Efik from the pulpit)	Efik (code- mixing and code- switching between Efik and Oro )	Efik and Oro
Announc ement	English	English Efik	English	English Efik	Efik with emphasis in Oro	Efik
Language of individua l prayers	English Efik	English Efik	English	Efik	Efik Oro	Efik
Testimon ies	0	2- code mixture in English, NPE and	6- code mixture of English, NPE and Efik	1-Oro with mixture of English and Efik	0	0

		Orɔ				
Bible readings	English/Efik	English taken directly from the pulpit. (Efik readers asked to read along)	English	English and Efik	Efik	Efik
Sermon	English/Efik	English/Efik	English	English/ Efik	Efik	Efik
Child dedication	0	0	0	Efik and English (taken by a more senior pastor)	0	0
Funeral service	English /Efik	English/ Efik	0	Efik Orɔ	0	0

The above table classifies churches in the Orɔ community into two main types, the urban and the rural churches. One feature of the urban churches is the common use of English as their primary language for communication. Two of the urban churches provide for interpretation into Efik from the pulpit but not so at the Redeem church at Akana Obio. This particular branch of the church is named the “youth” or “modern church”. There is no provision here for interpretation whatsoever; everything is done in English with some code mixing in Efik or Orɔ and sometimes NPE from the beginning of the opening prayers to the end of service. Most of the members are young, an average of below 35 years. The story surrounding the location and membership has it that the beach had been polluted by thieves and drunks making the area crime prone. One day, the pastor of the beach church received a vision from God asking him to start preaching to the people around the beach. Not long afterwards, he gathered a few members who were very young people either rejected by their families for drug offences, or just deciding on their own to be on the streets. This was how the church came into being. Apart from the location, the church has as members of its congregation foreigners from the neighbouring Cameroon and Equatorial Guinea, now

employed as fishermen in the community. This combination makes it stereotypical English and NPE based speaking church.

The two other churches in the urban areas conduct their services in English but provide Efik translation directly from the pulpit. This means both the pastor and the interpreter occupy the same pulpit at the same time providing interpretation to whatever the pastor is saying. I observed that in most cases, the Efik speakers did not benefit much from the interpretations. Sometimes the pastors are too fast and the interpreters do not get the message. At other times, the interpreters have very limited knowledge of translation which makes them render the interpretation word for word instead of interpreting the meaning. Below is an extract from one of the urban churches illustrating such a literal translation.

### **Example 18**

1. Pastor: We want to bring to the knowledge of the church that one of our brothers has lost his father.

2. Interpreter: Enam ediongo ke ete eyeneka nnyin kiet ama asop

We have been informed that one of our brothers' father is 'lost'

The interpretation carries a different meaning from the pastor's intended meaning. Whereas the pastor meant that the brother's father had passed away, the interpreter understood it as being "lost". Sometimes people get lost in the community due to boat capsize or delay in the sea and are later found. The Efik listeners understood the message that the brother's father is either kidnapped or lost in the ocean as it happens sometimes. This made me more curious whenever I was in church or funeral service. The following example was captured using my video recorder during a funeral service in Nsie, one of the rural churches. Because the deceased was a politician and lots of people came to the funeral who would perhaps not appreciate the use of the Efik language alone, the officiating minister preached in English with an interpretation into Efik.

### **Example 19**

Minister:

Jesus Christ is the lamb of sacrifice for our peace

Interpreter

Jesus Christ edi utuenikang unwana ono nnyin

Jesus Christ is the lantern (light) that lights our way

Minister

Like the ewe lamb he was gentle among wolves

Interpreter

Nte ikang emi ekotde ewe, enye isioreke uyo k'otu mme ekpe

Like a lamp called ewe, he opened not his mouth among the lions.

The intended message is lost in translation, as the interpretation does not capture the reference point by the minister. The interpreter confused lamb as a tender sheep with lamp as the means of lighting the room. He also refers to the ewe lamb /ju: / as /ewe/ i.e reading the letters as they are in the Bible which has a different meaning in Efik (*ewe* 'which').

The urban churches do more preaching and praying than the rural churches, which do many more songs and dances with multiple offerings being received. I witnessed two testimonies taken in Orọ throughout my stay at the community. The mother who dedicated her newborn child was allowed time to testify about her experiences during pregnancy and child birth. Maybe out of preference for Orọ or fear of not rendering the testimony properly in Efik, she chose to narrate her story in Orọ while switching to other languages when necessary. Although Efik is reported as the language of the domain, maybe one would have expected that people were bound to use the Efik or English language whenever they were in church. But the data gathered through observation in this domain does not suggest this domain to be language specific. Languages are mixed and in most cases loan blends are used.

### **Example 20 Testimony 1**

1. Pastor. Praise the Lord, before nwan asanga ye idibi onyung akaman eyen, edi akwa ubok Abasi. Iminim ke akpaniko ite ke eka eyen emi edioñde mfin enyene iko ntiense ndi share man but etetim anam Satan. Mmada ufañ emi ndikot eyen eka nnyin, eka eyen emi edioñde mfin emi oworo edi editiñ iko ntiense esie.

Praise the Lord, before a woman becomes pregnant and gives birth, it takes the grace

of God. We sincerely believe that the mother of the baby being dedicated today has a testimony to share with the church so that the devil will be put to shame. I therefore use this opportunity to call on our sister, the mother of the baby to share her testimony.

2. Mother. Praise the Lord, **ami nkere Arit Esu. Nluoṅo idikọ Abasi nditọ ete ku se Abasi ene ọṅo mi. Udip oyo mi Akaka ata ọkpọsọng idomo onu Abasi enyin ọkọṅo mi okike. Ubong oñyi Jesus Christ. Ima Dokto ekeno diferen diferen sickness.** But **ami nkunyi uduonyi k'Abasi omu osughu ku nwed isighi oku ke** “imo ikponikpong idi Obong, andikara, oyo ukut ndito esie”. Praise the Lord! **Afiañ itañaniañ odifei onu ume ene mi O. Ile ekenyeng mi so onwi. Nkunku Baibl omi** almost everytime **ñnuñ nclen uñwọṅo Abasi k'abaña uwem mi ma oyo mi.** Before yu know it, **nkpo ọtọṅo idiwuọ mi k'ile. Oki idiyoghoyoghọ 20 minit, udip emi eteghe nala mi k'edagha. Ami nkukpọk Yisọs añaña onwi k'ule yak adinyaña mi. Ke ndondo oro Oboñ Yisos ama obioñode ndien eyen oworo ini kiet fep.** Praise the Lord.

Praise the Lord, I am called [my name is] Arit. I want to thank God, my brethren, based on what God has done for me. The pregnancy came with diverse troubles but the Lord gave me victory. Glory is to Jesus Christ. The doctors diagnosed different types of sicknesses but I had hope in the Lord who says in His word that “He alone is God, the ruler, the one that takes away the sufferings of his children”. Praise the Lord! Nine months elapsed yet I did not have any sign of labour. I was disturbed as human. But before long, I started to feel some discharges and before 20 minutes, my baby descended and the pregnancy fell to my lower abdomen. I shouted “Jesus, the one that saves freely come and save me”. Immediately, the Lord Jesus appeared and the baby pushed out at once ‘fep’ [ideophone of how fast the baby came out].

Example 21: Testimony 2

Nkeka urua ndien ndioñoke ke nduk moto mme kidnapper. Ikikpeneke ammo embop mien iso ado ami mma mboro ammo nte ke ñwed Abasi abo ke “He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most high shall abide under the shadows of the Almighty”. Owo mmo kiet ambup mien me akuk e. Another person aboro ate ke owo inyemme akuk ammo ke edinwowood mien. Ami mma mboñ akam for God’s divine intervention. Ke ndondo ado, Abasi ama adoñ a helper emi akedogho eyen Akwa Ibom ñko. Enye ambup mien ete afo ato uke sia mkpo m eketippe ke Oyo state. Mma

mboro ke nto Akwa Ibom. The man ado surprised anyung andokko mien ke imo nko inyung ito Akwa Ibom state. Ndien Abasi ama a use enye **anrelease** mien, ndien ami nmma nwonder ke esit akai ammo ekesukko mien tutu ndiwuo usung. Ndien ami mmbonyak ubong ake akana ubong anie Jehovah Nissi.

I went to the market unknown to me that the car I entered belonged to kidnappers. It was not long before the blindfolded me. I prayed and told them that the book of God [Bible] says “He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most high shall abide under the shadows of the Almighty”. One of them [kidnappers] asked me where I hid my money; another person said there was no need to take her money as their intention was to kill me. I prayed for God’s divine intervention. That very moment, God sent a helper who was an Akwa Ibom person also (one of the kidnappers). He asked me where I came from and I responded that I came from Akwa Ibom, because this incident happened in Oyo state. The man was surprised and he informed me that he also came from Akwa Ibom state. God used him to secure my release and I wandered in the thick forest where they released me until I got to the main road. I hereby declare that the glory that is above all glory be ascribed to Jehovah Nissi.

The two testimonies and the initial introduction by the pastor of the church kind of portray the way languages are used in the christain religious circle in the Oṛo community. The pastor in the first testimony had almost maintained Efik with only the use of one discourse marker *before* and one English insertion *share*. Discourse markers are sometimes inevitable in conversations even in perhaps a “monolingual” type of conversation. The use of this discourse marker and one insertion does not seem to violate the reported language use in the church. But the testifiers in 1 and 2 have shown different level of language mixing. The first testifier made use of three different languages of Oṛo, Efik and English in the testimony that lasted just 8 minutes. But what is noticeable is the way she switches codes. In line 3 she said *Dokto ekeno diferen diferen sickness*. The switch in this line was to retain the medical name of the people who had diagnosed her with different diseases. The use of the word *different* and the repetition of the same word was to show she had contact with different [medical] doctors and not traditional healers. It is possible to have used the Oṛo equivalent of the word *doctor* but that could also be misunderstood as traditional

healers, hence her decision to adopt the word in its original form in the testimony. Moreover, proper names are retained in some translations.

The second switch in line 4 “imo ikponikpong idi Obong, andikara, oyo ukut ndito esie” is a direct quotation from the Bible. In 2.2.2 The Efik Language (efi) I had mentioned that the Bible was translated into Efik by the European missionaries. The other ethnic groups did not see the need to retranslate the Bible into other languages other than Efik. This made the users of the Efik Bible depend largely on Efik language. Although the speaker gave her testimony in Orọ, she switched to Efik when she needed to quote the promise of God from the Bible. Understandably, there is no Orọ Bible even as we write. This action by the testifier can be confirmed again in line 14 of the text “Ke ndondo oro Oboñ Yisos ama obioñode ndien eyen oworo ini kiet fep”. This time the switch serves to describe the action that Jesus took to deliver her of the baby. The adoption of the word *ke ndondo oro* describes the action to be just like a flash. Again citing an instance in the Bible where the Lord Jesus saved or intervened in peoples’ situation.

The second testifier sticks to two languages of English and Ibibio. Like the first testifier, she switched codes whenever she wanted to talk about the greatness of God to help her out of her situation. This claim is visible in lines 2 *He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most high shall abide under the shadows of the Almighty*, and others. The woman also made use of loan blends in her testimony. In this case, the woman’s language choice for testimony is contradictory to what was reported earlier in (5.9.2) where 192 participants claimed they use Efik in religious matters. Apart from in preaching and testimonies, songs in the churches I attended services were rendered by mixing languages. I have chosen just two songs recorded during choir rendition in the community.

**Example 22. Choir Rendition 1** (English = plain, NPE = italics, Ibibio = italic + underline).

1. When I think about your love
2. When I think about your grace
3. Hau yu pik mi go gras \_\_\_\_\_ “how you picked me from grass”
4. *Den yu cari mi go gres* \_\_\_\_\_ “you carried me to grace”
5. Then am here to say

6. *Jesus you too much* \_\_\_\_\_ "Jesus, you are too much" (you are so good)

7. *Nkedi ndibo amanam* ----- "I came to say you have done it"

### **Example 23. Choir Rendition 2**

1. Who am I that you bless?

2. This is your grace and nothing less

3. I will worship no one else

4. Who am I that you bless?

5. This is your grace and nothing less

6. I will worship no one else \_\_\_\_\_

7. *Yu mek mi wonda* \_\_\_\_\_ "you cause me to wonder"

#### Chorus

8. *E get as God go tek suprias yu* ----- "there is a way that God can surprise you"

9. *Yu no go fit tok am* \_\_\_\_\_ "that you would not be able to talk about it"

10. *Fo mai langwej yu go jus se* \_\_\_\_\_ "in my language you would just say"

11. *Sai, iya, ami ndom?* \_\_\_\_\_ "sai! (Exclamation), iya, is this I?"

12. *Tan akpaniko* \_\_\_\_\_ "say the truth"

13. *Awo ate nwan Dennis tan akpaniko* \_\_\_\_\_ "tell (Dennis' wife) to say the truth".

Examples 22 and 23 are songs that are a mixture of three languages - English, NPE and Ibibio. The first song was recorded in the urban while the second was recorded in the rural part of Oṛo . There is no remarkable difference between the two songs irrespective of the location they were recorded. These songs are appreciation of God's love to the artiste. In example 13, the artiste chooses NPE to express his belief (and that of many people in the community) that it is God who is responsible for every good and bad thing that happens in peoples' lives. This is exemplified in line 3 *Hau yu pik mi go gras* "and line 4 *Hau yu pik mi go gras* "How you picked me to grass". The artiste portrays God as the one who took him to the valley "grass" and raised him to grace. The choice of NPE in rendering the two lines is to demonstrate the point that

humans are just God's creation and could be "picked" up at will by the creator. The switch to NPE in line 6 *Jesus yu tu much* is to show how speechless the artiste is to God. The phrase *yu tu much* is usually used to refer to an unquantifiable feature of a person. The artiste marvels at the way God has blessed him and he does not seem to know in what ways he could repay the kindness of God. This leads the artiste into a final conclusion in another switch into Ibibio in line 7 *nkedi ndibo* "I came to say". The switch marks the climax of his praise to God.

In example 23, the songs start off in NPE explaining the many ways God blesses people. The artiste adopts NPE to break down the ways in which God works with people. In line 8 he says *E get as God go tek suprias yu* "there is a way that God can choose to surprise you". He goes on further to state that when God decides to surprise somebody, he leaves the person to wonder who God is actually. In line 10 he came up to say the person who God blesses can only exclaim like in his (artiste's) language "is this true"? Although the song has English as the main language, the choice of NPE is very significant in portraying God as all in all. The choice of NPE at this point is to make the language simpler enough to reach nearly every audience in Nigeria.

Although some of the churches provided interpretation from behind the pulpit, they certainly made use of code mixing and in most cases a complete switch to another code. Bible readings were often taken in English and Efik, but some of the pastors in the rural areas mixed some Ọrọ words with Efik for the understanding of the congregation. Out of curiosity, I discovered that most of the words they provided translation for were words whose meaning in Efik were different to that in Ọrọ, so to avoid confusing the two terms, the pastor had to emphasise that he meant one and not the other. In a particular instance, I recorded the message and while listening to it found words like *ekebe ntughube* "fridge", *sidibe* "silver" and *ekpeme erong* "shepherd". These words either have no meaning in Ọrọ, or have the opposite meaning. It would be difficult for the pastor to provide a good example of Jesus Christ as the 'good shepherd', when there is nothing like a shepherd in Ọrọ language. All the sheep are wandering on the streets or kept at home. It must be a jobless person who would volunteer to look after sheep who can take care of themselves.

The way the pastor chose to use his language made a lot of sense to me. Code-mixing two or three languages of English words lifted directly from the Bible to Efik and rendering the meaning in Oꝛo made the preaching more accessible to all the members. For instance, had the pastor stopped at those words like in the word for fridge, some of the congregants who were not very good in Efik would have been wondering what he was trying to say, whereas that was the nearest way he could reduce the English word for ‘snow’. Both Oꝛo and Efik have no equivalents for the word ‘snow’, but the Efik speakers bring it nearer to the fridge- freezer. In the third item, sheep are very rare in Oꝛo and the few people who own them keep them at home. There is no particular person who watches after the sheep because they wander about in the community. So if Jesus Christ was presented as a “shepherd” then the congregation could have been left wondering if Jesus actually had no job than to take care of mere sheep. To portray Jesus Christ as the *shepherd of the church*, the pastor had to look for an alternative word instead of using the Efik word which could have caused the intended meaning again to be trivialized or lost completely.

## **6.7 Domain of Work**

Under this domain, I will discuss my observation in three broad areas of communal work, participation in classroom teaching and the health centre. I take these areas of work to represent the domain of work. The examples provided are extracts from my video recordings during the fieldwork phase.

### **6.7.1 Communal Work**

The first example takes place in front of the youth hall in Eweme village. The youths have been summoned to an emergency meeting to discuss how to keep the environment clean for the coronation of the village chief a fortnight from the day of this meeting. In chapter one, I pointed out that the youths are responsible for maintaining cleanliness in the community. This was one of the meetings organized by the chairman of the forum. In the following example, the chairman is worried that the roads in the community were not clean enough to impress visitors coming for the coronation of the village chief. Each ward has a chairman responsible for the

activities in his ward. The speakers in the example below are leaders responsible for one activity or another.

#### Example 24

Chairman

Buil de jud (response: buil de nation). Buil de nation (response: buil the jud). Tank you for responding to this oyen call. As yu mey hav bin infom, de men popos for dis miting is **sighe edine man ekedighi eyin ele** pra to de coronation of awa chief **ku udue ifang omodi e m**. Som unit chairmen **ene ekedighi ma urue emu ele**, but most of us **eneghede onyi ene ele o**. So, I wan us to say the way forward.

Ubong (member 1)

[salutes] My name is Ubong; I am the pro tem chairman for Assang Utime Ugugo. Ahhh mm Mr chairman, **ko nu manlei**, I made a report **ku** the last meeting **omu ikinyi nku ku seketeri omi mmeeme idimai uto o**. **Ofid-ofid** wok load **odu mi kiile**. That is why **nde nsanyak**. Now, **ami nso nnu** chairman **ma seketeri?** This is my problem **omu ndenyak yak okpodighi onu ofid okiri** so that **enwi** or **ofu** president **edebid ntak**.

My name is Ubong, I am the pro tem chairman for Assang Utime Ukugo. Ahhh mm Mr chairman, if I am not mistaken, I made a report at our last meeting that my secretary does not coordinate the work. All the workload is on me. That is why I have decided to leave it like that. Now, am I the chairman as well as the secretary? This is my problem and my reason for allowing the paths to be covered with grass so that someone, maybe you president would ask why.

Both speakers in the above example make use of two active languages of Qr̩ and English. Although it would have been expected to see NPE used in this conversation, the youths did not come up with it, possibly because they were keeping things a bit official. Some English words were spoken the Nigerian way eg. *buil for* “build”, *de* for “the”, *tank* for “thanks”, *oyen for* “urgent”. Also observed are words like *popos* for “purpose”, *bin* for “been”, *miting* for meeting, *awa* for “our”, etc. issues bothering on pronunciation of English words by some Nigerian middle class are not new. Sometimes some Nigerian speakers of English fail to realize the last sound that ends a word, especially when the word ends with a consonant. Another explanation which I think explains the defect is the lack of English equivalent in the regional languages.

Sometimes it takes a lot of self discipline and constant practice to observe stresses in English, the result of this leads to saying one thing when in actual sense the person means another. For instance words like /beat/ and /bit/, /eat/and /it/ are always confused with each other by some Nigerians in the middle class academic. For further explanation, see Udofot (2003) on “Non Standard Nigerian English”.

The second speaker makes use of a lexical borrowing in line 5 *seketeri* “secretary”. This lexical item has been phonologically integrated into the sound system of the Oꝛo language.

This pattern of language use differs from what we saw in examples 7 and 8 where the youths made use of three languages and even secret language to exclude non members. The base language in examples 7 and 8 is English unlike in the above example where the base language is Oꝛo. The use of English - Oꝛo bilingualism in the interaction does not break the expectations but it is rather a common practice of language use among members of the community, especially those with a good formal education.

### 6.7.2 Domain of Education

To research language use in the education domain, I visited three primary and three secondary schools in six villages of Nsie, Eweme, Iquita, Okossi, Oruko and Ovi Uda. The excerpts are from my video- recordings and fieldwork notes.

**Table 34 Domain of education**

Name of school	Location	Date visited	Language of instruction	Class level	Language for singing	Language for folktales/songs	Number of pupils in the class
CSS N	Nsie Oꝛo	6/11/2013	English	SS1-3	-	-	58
CSS	Eweme	7/12/2013	English	SS1-3	-	-	42
CGS	Oruko	15/12/2013	English/Efik	JS1-3	Efik, Ibibio and English	English/Efik	67
GPS	Iquita Oꝛo	25/1/2014	Efik/English	Primary 1-6	Efik/English	English/Efik/Oꝛo	52

PS	Okossi	14/2/2014	Efik/ English	Primary 1-6	Efik/ English	Efik	61
SPP S	Ovi	6/3/2014	Efik/ English	Primary 1-6	Efik/ English	Efik	38

The first three secondary schools I visited in the community use mostly English as their language of instruction. All the textbooks I saw were written in English with the exception of one literature text in Ibibio which was optional for science students who could choose to offer literature or Government as a subject. At the comprehensive secondary school Nsie, I taught English language to JSS1 to SS3 where the following interaction was recorded on video.

**Example25.** (Teacher walks into the class with me)

Class prefect: class!

Class: Good morning madam, we are happy to see you. God, bless you!

Teacher: Good morning students! Please be seated. May I introduce you to a visitor in our midst today. She is not a school inspector so don't be afraid. Feel free to ask her any question after the lesson and also allow her to video you. Very soon, you will see yourselves in the television (I always protested against misunderstanding me for a movie producer).

Class: Yeeees madam.

Teacher: who can remind us of what we did in class yesterday?

Class: Deep silence

Student A: Social studies

Teacher: Yes, what other thing did we do?

Student B: Social responsibility

Teacher: Who can mention three social responsibilities s/he must perform?

Student C: We must pay our tax every day

Class: Chuckle

Teacher: No, not every day. It is every month.

I was later informed by the language teacher that the only time they speak “vernacular” to the children was when they had a language lesson. This was the same in other secondary schools. But the situation is much more complex in primary schools. The teaching is sometimes done in English as in English language, Mathematics and other English based subjects. I noticed that teachers were always repeating some things in both languages of English and Efik in the junior classes.

### **6.7.3 Domain of Health**

There are a total of eight health centres spread across the community but only a few have staff and equipment for work. In health centres, the primary language is Efik. The health centres in this community are smaller units of big hospitals and so still exhibit language patterns typical of colonial times when doctors and nurses were white missionaries and interpretation was always from English to Efik. Since hospitals were first established by missionaries, the few interpreters were then trained to translate English to Efik. Even decades after the departure of the missionaries, hospitals and health sectors still maintain the language domain. Although there is that assumption that everyone in the community both speaks and understands Efik some people still feel uncomfortable being asked to state their health problems in Efik. It is true that they have Efik in their repertoire but it is also true that they would have been able to express themselves better in any of the regional languages had they been given a choice. However, the paramount ruler of Uquong informed me that he had requested the health workers to encourage patients and allow them to express themselves in any chosen language. Language use in the health centres in rural areas seems to tilt towards a steady bilingualism of Orɔ and Efik with some touches on English and NPE. In the urban villages, by contrast, more flexible multilingualism occurs. Patients may speak any language that is used by the health workers. More people in the urban villages are comfortable with speaking multiple languages at the health centre. Below is an example

of a patient in a health centre having a dialogue with the nurses. The example comes from my field notes, and majority of the conversation is in Efik.

### Example 26

1. Patient  
Nos mbok idem afina eyen mi  
Nurse please, my child is sick
2. Nurse  
Nso inam enye?  
What is wrong with him?
3. Patient  
ofiop akagha, afiak okok ikaba  
He is very hot and has vomited twice
4. Nurse  
okono enye nsuto ibok?  
What type of medication did you give him?
5. Patient  
mma nno enye parasitamo  
I gave him paracetamol
6. Nurse  
ye nso ewen?  
And what else
7. Patient  
ye odung, em ...em... mbiakabiak udi  
And a root...em...em...called mbiakabiak udi [The root has no direct translation into English but the closest is “I run away from trouble”]
8. Nurse  
inwanagake mi  
I don't understand
9. Patient (calling on her sister)  
Atim, mbok s'eku mbiakabiak udi dighi k'nsighi Efok?  
[turning to her sister for assistance] Atim, please what do they call ‘mbiakabiak’ udi in Efik language? [Note that the Qrọ speakers refer to Efik as Efok.]
10. Atim (the patient's sister)  
eh eh eh! Wait a minute yak nkere. Ah!Amfak o. Se edine dighi utọ mkpo m?

Ah ah ah! Wait a minute let me think. Ah! I do not know. What are we going to do with this kind of a situation?

The above scenario between the patient and the nurse drives home my support of a multilingual as a person that does not necessarily have similar competence in all his/her repertoires. The patient in this case is multilingual in the languages of the environment and also speaks some NPE, but could not perform very well when the nurse needed her to translate the root she had given the child to Efik. This is not unique of this patient as many bilinguals and multilinguals express the same difficulties.

In the conversation, above, the nurse and the patient have a smooth conversation until the patient got stuck in line 7 with the name of the root she used in giving the child an enema. The nurse needed to know what she had given to the child before any other medication could be administered. The patient could only mention paracetamol which is actually integrated into Ọrọ as ‘‘kparasitamo’’ (as Ọrọ speakers do not realise the bilabial plosive /p/ in initial position and /l/ in word final positions), but could not translate the root she gave the child as an enema into either Efik or English for the understanding of the nurse.

Although the participants had reported using Efik in the health centre, we have seen a disparity as the domain is not language specific. Three languages of Efik, Ọrọ and English are at play in this conversation although Efik is the dominant language. As far as the community is concerned, they believe specific languages are used in specific places. Times have changed as the community is expanding, yet the language is held ideologically as an ideal one for this domain. Many participants admitted they speak more of English in the health centres and hospitals than the Efik language which is mostly known by the older generation. It turned out that the reported Efik is used mainly by elders in the community. I was also informed that there are nurses who speak other languages beside Efik in the community health centres.

**Example 27:** Language use in the Market

(A is the customer while B is selling fish in the market)

**1. A. Anti nko o. Mbok senye ayak m dighi?**

Anty I greet you. How much is the fish?

**2. B. Eh, costoma, adi. Ayak akpa N200**

Eh, customer welcome. The fish costs N200

**3. A. Na lai. Sene dighi ulagha ayak m edetu urue so nu?**

It's a lie. How can this type of fish be that costly?

**4. B. Na turu I de tok so o. Wai I fo de lai? Mbok kong dio ubok no mi**

It's the truth I am talking. Why would i lie? Please help put hand for me (help and buy from me).

**Example 28:** (A is a young Igbo man aged 19. He sells fishing equipments for his boss and B owns big flying boats. He has come to buy nets and other stuff for supplies).

1. A. Oga welkom sir. Na wish wan yu wan mek i bring fo yu?

Welcome sir. Which (of the items) would you like me to bring for you?

2. B. Wia ya masta? Im no kom maket tode?

Where is your master? Didn't he come to the market today?

3. A. Oga him de arang, but i fit tey small bifo him riton

Sir he is around, but it might take some time before he returns

**Example 29:** (A is hawking beans cake in the market while B and C are the customers).

1. A. Bo inem akara ado mi

Buy that sweet beans cake here

2. B. **Ku akara n no mi**

Call the akara (seller) for me (pointing towards the lady hawking).

3. C. **Akara se me eku fi mu**

Akara you are called (here)

4. A. Mbok oyom k'okuk ifang?

How much would you like to buy?

5. B. **Biongo ise yak nkid sighe emu ela ile**

Bring it down let me see how they are

6. A. Anti akara mi enem ata eti eti

Aunt, my beans cake is very sweet

7. B. Picks the cake with bare hands without making use of the fork

8. **Anti mbok kune kune. Enwi mukid edisime idibogho mi ili o. Ana sun nu** conscious of hygiene

Anti please don't do that. If people see you they would not buy from me again. I have to be conscious of hygiene.

Language use in the three markets I visited in the community were a sort of interesting. I observed that language use differ among sellers of different products. The petty sellers of ingredients like pepper, salt, fish, etc spoke to a very large extent in *Qr̩* and Efik. From example 27 both the seller and customer used *Qr̩* until they got to a more sensitive issue in line 3 *na lai* "its a lie" **Sene dighi ulagha ayak m edetu urue so nu?** The change in code to NPE is to protest the price of the fish as mentioned by the seller. Sometimes, code-switching occur as a form of protest. The fish seller also countered the protest using NPE to maintain her position and to also prove her innocence.

In example 28, the two speakers maintained the conversation in NPE. Some sellers of larger shops in the community are Igbos or Ghanaians. I think this is why the default language in many of these shops is NPE. Both buyers and sellers adopt NPE as the main code for the conversation without thinking of what could happen if they met someone that does not understand them. The case is different when people are hawking their wares on the streets of the open market. The most used language from my recordings is Efik. Consider example 29 above. The conversation lasted for nearly four minutes with the seller still maintaining Efik despite the fact that she speaks *Qr̩* well. She only changed her code to portray her anger to her customer for daring to pick up the cake with her bare hands, a behaviour which could spread infection on the goods. I think her change of code to *Qr̩* was to make her point clear to her interlocutors incase they would not understand her in Efik which was the language she adopted to sell her product. This finding is a bit strange as some researchers on language use in markets find out that customers and sellers alike change their languages to suit their client for a better bargain (Connell, 2003; Adegbija 2004).

## **6.8 Factors Affecting Language Use**

Gal's (1979) study in a Hungarian speaking community discovered that certain social factors such as sex, class, education have some influences on speakers' linguistic choices during interaction. This assertion is true concerning language use and choices made by members of the community in their daily interactions. This sub section therefore examines some of those factors which have been observed to influence language use in the Qro community.

### **6.8.1 Age of Speakers**

Although there are many factors which affect language use in this community, factors such as age is so pronounced in this study. Language use in the community depends to a great extent on the age range of the speaker. Youths in the community prefer the use of NPE and English above other languages in some conversations where they are with their network of friends. As it is demonstrated in the examples above, the youths have their unique way of using language. Sometimes their language use is only meant for their ears alone as they most times use slangs and other speech strategies to exclude others, especially adults who they may perceive as threats to their interactions. The younger the speaker is the more s/he is prone to using language independently from the adults or older generation. This finding is not alone as it was also one of the findings in Ihemere (2007) in his Port Harcourt study . It was discovered that the youths used more of NPE than the older generation . This finding in Qro is therefore not a surprise as both Port Harcourt and Qro are in the south -south geopolitical zone of the country.

### **6.8.2 Educational Attainment**

Another factor which this study found out as influencing language use is individuals' educational attainment. This factor is seen as a force to reckon with in making language choices in the community. Participants who are highly educated use language differently from those that have little or no formal education. From the two sets of data presented from the survey and observation in chapters 5 and 6, there seems to be a correlation between what was reported and what speakers do. In chapter 5 and chapter 6 there are samples of conversation between children and parents which suggest that English language is associated with education. In the later (example 4), a

standard form of English is used in the conversation between parents and their children. This is possible because the background information provided has revealed the parents to be graduates and teachers in a higher institution. Although many parents had reported English as a preferred choice in conversation with their children in 5.10.8, the observational data finds out that in most cases what the parents speak is NPE and sometimes another form of English which may have a total different structure from the normal English. In this way, the meaning of what they say is different from what they intended to say. Other examples in the observed data suggest that people without formal education were observed to either not use English at all, but make use of discourse markers or insertions in their interactions.

It was not just the status of participants' education that played a part but the desire to perform well in education also is significant here. Parents and guardians choose to speak either English or NPE to their wards just so they can do well in school. This has taken a toll on language choices so much so that even at home parents with little or no formal education choose to communicate with their children in English, language, NPE or a mixture of it.

Sometime in the past, many people had thought English language is the language of the powerful elites in Nigeria. This observation was held by some Nigerian authors, for example Adegbija (2004:15) observes that although "English was implanted as the language of the powerful British conquerors, today it is the language of a powerful Nigerian elite as well as a pervasive international language of the entire world". Today, only the last part of this quotation is true as the English language is no longer the language of a "powerful elite" but a language for everyone who desires to achieve anything in Nigeria and beyond. Many decades ago, Bamgbose (1971:35) had proclaimed that:

Of all the heritage left behind by the British at the end of the colonial administration, probably none is more important than the English language. This is now the language of government, business and commerce, education, the mass media, literature and much internal as well as external communication.

If this was the case many decades ago, then the situation has tripled today especially, with the world becoming a global village.

### **6.8.3 Religion and Language Use**

Religion is associated with certain belief system. Language use in Oꝛo is also determined by the status and denomination of the worshipper. For instance, in some denominations, there are titles such as Right Reverend, Cardinal, Bishop, Pastor, Overseer, etc depending on the person's duties in the denomination. These are words which have no equivalents in the local languages. In order to use these titles as a member of the denomination, one will have to learn to say them correctly in their conversations, testimonies, and even in prayers. Beside this, members modify their language use to portray them as very good Christians when they have the cause to speak to the title holders in their different denominations. In some Pentecostal churches in the community, members have a common way of saluting each other eg "bless you", "Hallelujah", "Daughter of zion", etc. These words are said irrespective of the level of education of the member.

Another factor in the churches has to do with age-long beliefs. I had discussed earlier where members of this community reported their preferences for languages in the church. This ofcourse turned out not to be so. Even when their practices conflict with their reports, and because these reports are rooted in ideology of what is good, for what and where, they believe they are speaking just a particular language. As far as the domain of education is concerned, members believe the language is either Efik for the traditional or orthodox churches or English for the Pentecostal churches.

### **6.8.4 Topic of the Conversation**

Another factor observed which exerts some influences on language use in the community is the topic of the interaction. As I have noted in some of the examples, some of the topics for conversation are better handled in the language it is deemed appropriate. For instance, in example 7 the subject for the interaction had to do with business and the terms were selected to suit the interaction. This is also seen in the examples above where the conversation kick-started in Oꝛo and as soon as the topic changed to politics the conversation adopted a new approach of English and a few Oꝛo code -switching.

## 6.9 Summary of the Chapter

This chapter of the thesis reported data obtained from ethnographic participant observation of the Ọrọ community which lasted for nine months. Naturally occurring data were obtained through observation, formal and informal interviews and sometimes stimuli. The data were collected from social settings and reported in domains based on the distribution of languages in the community. Out of this more data came from the home domain because this was where I spent my time the most for the nine months. I slept there, woke up from there, went out from there and eventually always returned there at the end of the day. The data reveals that people from the age range of 50 years and above sort of prefer the use of the regional languages like the Ọrọ or Efik but they often end up spicing their speeches with insertions and other discourse markers from English and NPE. Despite these practices, members of the Ọrọ community still claim the older relatives/generation among them within this age range speak and also prefer ‘monolingual’ Ọrọ in their interactions.

Although 89 participants had reported in 5.10.8 that they use Ọrọ with their children especially at home, observation reveals that English remains the preferred choice with the children whether at home or outside. It also shows how parents who have little or no formal education try to speak English and sometimes end up speaking NPE to the children. This preference by some parents to use the English language or NPE with their wards is based on the hope that the children would perform well in school so they could land a ‘big job’ some day. It was not difficult to read through the eyes of parents the motivation behind the choice of language with their children. It was the fear of poverty and the desire to end it with their generation which is the most driving force in this ‘war’ of speaking English. The parents are left with no options, especially with Nigeria being a British Colony and English language mandatory in school and official domains. This finding is interesting because people still believe that English as a language is spoken perhaps solely in public domains in Nigeria without realizing that time have changed. It might not just be the case of the Ọrọ community alone as similar instances was reported by Leglise and Migge (2015: 14). The authors observed while carrying out a research on language practices and language ideology among school children in the Surinames, that although

Sranantongo and formerly denigrated languages are used in public domains, Dutch and Sranantongo have made their ways into the home and local community setting. Something also interesting emerged from the observation data, i.e the way young people use language in the community. Depending on where they find themselves, their languages were used in a unique way. Sometimes they use slangs and other “secret” codes to make their points, especially, when they talk about topics that could be embarrassing in the presence of other adults. We also see the youths making use of words and phrases which are used in specialized environment to decorate their speeches. The choice of NPE among them and English remain unchallenged. Other social situations are a bit different in their linguistic practices. For instance the way language is used in the market in this community indicates that certain goods are associated with the language choice of both buyer and seller. People with petit businesses seem to speak more of Efik, Ọrọ or the variants of Ọrọ while those selling bigger stuff like Speed Boat engines, fishing nets, paddles, etc. speak more of NPE.

## Chapter 7

### Summary of Findings and Conclusion

This thesis is a sociolinguistic study of the reported repertoires and observed language use of the Oṛo multilingual community, Akwa Ibom state, Nigeria. It primarily aimed at presenting a comprehensive and systematic account of how multilingual language users in the community manipulate their languages in different social domains. It actually focused on understanding how languages are used in interaction and by who the participants of the interactions are. To achieve these objectives this study has taken into account the linguistic, socio-economic and macro-sociological distinctiveness of the Oṛo community. Thus, the study investigated prevailing language ideology and language perception which heightens language choices of individuals in the community. With the adoption of methods like questionnaires, observational data, formal and informal interviews, the study hopes to demonstrate that contemporary local linguistic ideology together with personal network ties would offer fuller and more adequate explanations of why members of the Oṛo community select some languages above others in their normal every day interactions. Thus, in this concluding chapter, I shall present summaries and implications of the main findings of this study, followed by a brief discussion of directions for future research.

#### 7.1 Summary of Findings

Chapter one of this thesis introduced the social formation of the Oṛo people. It discusses their settings, occupation, language classification and the research questions. The chapter also tries to look into the history of multilingualism in the Oṛo community. It was understood that migration, for several reasons in and out of the community, exogenous marriage pattern where community members do not marry relatives and activities of the Christian missionaries led to language diversity in the community. The other factor which contributes to multilingual practices in the community is the location of the community as a coastal region. Many people migrate from neighbouring West and East African countries through the Atlantic Ocean and settled on the coast of Oṛo initially for fishing on the vast Atlantic. What started like a fishing settlement has expanded into a community with diverse people, culture and

languages. The other thing which chapter one achieved was the review of previous works on Oꝛo. It reports that some works done on Oꝛo have basic description of the sounds and morphology of the Oꝛo language and its varieties. The study discovered that no sociolinguistic study of the environment has been carried out prior to this thesis (atleast to the best of my knowledge and from internet searches). However, the previous works have helped in laying the foundation for this present study.

Chapter two reports on the language situation in Nigeria which has made it to be described as the most linguistically diverse nation (Blench 1998:187). Nigeria was colonised by the British which made the English language an official language in the nation and a compulsory subject in post primary and tertiary institutions. Apparently, most Nigerians speak more than two languages while others speak upto four or five. The diversity in Nigeria is further heightened by the number of ethnic languages which also claim autonomy of their speech forms as languages. In chapter two also, languages spoken in the Oꝛo community have been appraised. This appraisal was to familiarise the reader with information on each of the languages in the community. The Oꝛo language, Efik, Ibibio, Anaang and the varieties of Oꝛo have been classified as belonging to the Lower Cross language family, a branch of the Niger Congo. Although these languages are spoken in the same state, they are sometimes diverse forms. Some of them are intelligible while others are not. There also exists a unidirectional intelligibility between Oꝛo, Ibibio, Efik and sometimes Anaang. The Oꝛo speakers both understand and speak the other languages mentioned above but the others do not understand nor speak Oꝛo unless they live there.

Other languages used in the Oꝛo community which do not belong to the Lower Cross are English, NPE, Yoruba, Ewe, Hausa and French. Among these languages reported in the community, the data presented in chapters five and six of the thesis shows the language of the community might be NPE. This is because NPE is the only language that is understood by all in the community irrespective of educational background. Surprisingly, even the older generation who claim their choice of languages are the regional languages, they (unknowingly) use English insertions and discourse markers in their daily interactions.

Chapter three discussed the definition of terms used in the thesis. After considering different definitions by diverse authors, the study pitched its own tent depending on the data available to it. Thus, it considers a multilingual to be someone that makes use of at least three languages without necessarily having competence in the languages. In the same manner, a bilingual is defined as someone with the ability to use two languages. It also defines a monolingual as one with the use of one language and absolutely one. Some works on multilingualism which have bearings directly with the present study were reviewed. First is the research carried out by Lüpke, & Storch (2013) in Senegal. Using participant observation and other sources as research methods, the authors reported that what are referred to as different languages are just repertoires available to the speakers. They also condemn the naming of languages which makes one village equivalent to one language. An important finding which is relevant to this thesis is identifying migration for several reasons as one of the causes of multilingualism. What is significant about this study is the fact that both of the researches concern West Africa. Some of the causes of multilingualism are the same in the two researches.

Another research on small scale multilingualism was reviewed. Goods (2015; 16) and Di Carlo (2016) in their study of the Fungum and Grassland in Cameroon also in West Africa, observed that a language is equalled to a village in the Fungum region. Di Carlo pointed out the multilingual practices in the Cameroonian grassland noting the power of the local chiefs to appropriate land to the new comers . These findings again are relevant to the Orọ community where the chiefs are the heads of the community and have power to take decisions on behalf of the entire community.

The chapter also considered, among others the work of Adegbija (2004). The research by Adegbija is based on data collected from questionnaires by his students to determine language choices among selected Nigerians. As relevant as this research might be, there are questions as to how valid and vital the reports are. These criticisms arise from the use of students to collect data for such a sensitive subject, the use of English only in the questionnaires and perhaps the choice of the questionnaire method was not sufficient. Be that as it may, the study marks an important foundation for the thesis.

Chapter four discussed the data collection processes and methodology adopted for the present study. Being a rural African community, some of the methods read in books did not make much sense in the field. Making of appointments by phone calls to the chiefs were not successful. Several repeated consultations were made and eventually the Ahta who happens to be the head of the Qr̥ community approved of the research . Two villages were marked for data collection. This was ideal as the community divides itself into rural and urban settlements. The first four months of fieldwork was spent in the rural and the remaining in the urban . Observational data was supplemented with 200 questionnaires translated into Qr̥ , Efik and NPE and administered by the researcher in person. Video and audio recorders were used to obtain naturally occurring data from the community. The data obtained were annotated on ELAN, a software tool for analysing speech and the results were used in the analysis.

Chapter five is the collation of the questionnaire reports by the 200 participants. The responses were collated on SPSS and Microsoft Excel Spread Sheet before finally used for the analysis on Microsoft Word. The respondents were divided into their villages captioned as ‘place of residents’ to determine those who came from the rural settlement and the ones who came from the urban settlement. This separation was needful to understand language use among the two settlements of the community. Linguistic repertoires of the respondents show many of them speak the regional languages in a high scale. However, only 18 respondents said they didn’t speak NPE at all; see 5.9 above on the linguistic profile of participants.

This report is not conclusive as most of what they reported were found not to be totally true. Some of the questions bothered on language use with close networks such as family and friends . At home, the respondents said they choose the regional languages with Qr̥ having the highest number , see 5.10 on social network of participants. Some of the informations collated were languages spoken with spouse, children, siblings, old relatives, friends, etc. Some interesting information came from the reports on the choice of language with children. Contrary to the reports of language choice with network ties, 48 respondents admitted speaking English to their children while 25 also said they choose to speak NPE to their children. The choices made by parents stem from the values placed on English in the country as the official

language and also language of the official domains. Parents are willing to go an extra mile to help their children succeed in life through good performance in school.

Chapter six presented data on the ethnographic participant observation of the Ọrọ community which lasted for nine months. The data at some point query the reports in chapter five of this thesis. Data were presented in social settings and analysis shows that language practices in the community was much more complex than could be explained in terms of accounting for the reasons for the code-switching, language alternation and code mixing. The study checked through the data obtained and was shocked to discover that there was no social setting where only one language was used apart from my short visit to a secondary school in example 14 where the rituals of greeting the teacher or whoever walks into the classroom in English was performed. For instance, 89 participants said they speak Ọrọ to their children but it turned out that in all the data obtained and just four selected for analysis, none of them makes use of one language, see 6.4.4 example 8 and 6.4.5 in example 9.

Another discrepancy observed was on the reported language use among friends. A lot of them opted for regional languages but in practice, this was different. The major language recorded among these young people is NPE. In some instances, they carve out some slangs and secret words for themselves. In this way, they are able to carry on a conversation to include their circle of friends and to exclude others, especially their parents, see 6.4.8 example 12 on conversation among young people in the community. Some language choices are termed by this study as ideological. Many community members believe in a particular language being equal to a particular domain whereas this is not the practice. In section 5.9.2 for instance, the respondents' highest score for language use in the Christian religion is Efik in the community. But observational data in (6.5) and in all examples presented suggest differently. It becomes clear that apart from Bible readings and Hymns, other matters like testimonies can take up the natural uncontrollable style of 'any code choice goes'.

Influence of migration in and out of the community cannot be ruled out of language use as people who returned to the community from the city or other speech communities speak more of NPE, English and Yoruba and little of the Ọrọ, Efik, etc. Another important finding of the thesis is the influence of formal education on

language use. Community members who have attained a high level of formal education engage more in the use of bilingualism which could involve English and any regional language. This group makes use of English in the right perspective taking into account the grammatical and acceptability of the language. This is not the case with other users of English as shown in the various examples where the syntax of the language is not given much thought. Lastly, the study observes that people within the age range of 50 and above use more of the regional languages than people in the age range of 49 and below. This is the same observation for children who would rather respond to any query in English or NPE as in the case of examples 9. Some choices are used out of beliefs and traditions. For instance, the respondents reported a preference of the regional languages when talking to their older relatives. This claim was confirmed from observation, although in a lengthy conversation, the interactants soon forget the norms governing the conversation. In most cases, greetings in the community are ritually said in the regional languages to elders unless it is proven otherwise.

The thesis further reveals that Ọrọ language is not threatened by the influence of the other languages as it was assumed by some members of the community. Rather, Ọrọ is threatened by the fact that the young people are more comfortable with NPE and English. Three young participants and twelve others reported acquiring English and NPE as their L1s as we can see in the examples on participants' languages. This is absolutely no fault of any person as this phenomenon is like a wind that sweeps through the world currently. What the critics fail to understand is that the world has fast become a global village with the advent of internet facilities where people could sit in the comfort of their home and communicate with people who are five thousand miles away. Another truth unravelled by this thesis is that Ọrọ is used beyond the home; again debunking the earlier claims by the community that as much as Ọrọ is not used in the media and other official domains, it automatically means Ọrọ is a home language. The finding of this thesis that Ọrọ is present in almost all the domains in the community has helped in solving an impending feud in the state. I had mentioned earlier in chapter two of this thesis that government approved only the Ibibio language which is the state language to be taught in schools. This decision generated a lot of controversy between the Ọrọ community and the government. The

community members believe that the introduction of Ibibio in their territory will hamper the growth and spread of Ọrọ.

One of the research questions the thesis sort to find answers to was *if you went outside the community, what language will you speak?* Nearly every respondent said they could not speak the Ọrọ language outside of the community since it is not understood by the people out there. A follow up question was *if you would not speak Ọrọ outside of the community, which language(s) would you speak?* Majority of the people I interviewed opted for NPE or English. Others said they would speak a language which makes them comfortable. When I probed further to know which language makes them comfortable, the response was always ‘NPE’ (ofcourse it is NPE). From the interviews and survey results, it is possible to assume that certain choices are made based on the perception of the languages involved. For instance, languages which have a wider coverage would be an ideal choice for people who carry out businesses outside the community.

Finally, the study concludes that multiple languages/repertoires are used by members of the Ọrọ community in their daily interactions. Although the people think in their heads what language should be used by whom and where, they seldom practice what they think or even say. Some of the choices are made deliberately as a result of language ideology. It is also true that the older generation speak more of the regional languages than the younger generation whose language preference is either NPE or English. Although many parents reported the regional languages as their most spoken languages, the young generation, especially within the age ranges of 16-40 speak less of the regional languages than they speak English or NPE, especially, within their network of friends. Ihemere (2007) notes in his Port Harcourt study that the older generation preferred the Ikerre language while NPE was associated with some level of education. However, the situation in Ọrọ is a bit different. Although the older generation used and also preferred the regional languages, some of them who had no formal education also used NPE. It is obvious that those of them may without any formal education may not use NPE or English in any way close to the way they use the regional languages, they atleast make use of discourse markers and a few English insertions in their interactions. Howbeit, a few participants practise bilingualism of English and the regional language(s) or NPE as demonstrated in the examples in

chapter 6. Many parents, whether highly or partially educated say they prefer to use English with their children so as to assist them in their academic performances since English is a compulsory subject in Nigerian schools.

## **7.2 Contributions of the Thesis to Knowledge**

This thesis has made some useful and insightful contributions to the understanding of the ways and approaches to studying small scale multilingualism, especially in Africa in the following ways:

1. It has provided a setting and platform to understand the way languages are used in small communities such as Orọ
2. The thesis has also highlighted the ways of entering into the field , obtaining informed consent in a traditional African society like Orọ where messages are passed across through traditional means like the town criers.
3. It is the first sociolinguistic study (to the best of my knowledge) that describes not just the language practices but also the social settings, traditional practices, culture, etc of the Orọ community.
4. It is the first study carried out by a community member who is also a linguist. In this way, there was no need for translators who perhaps would have misguided the study based on their perceptions.
5. This research has delved into understanding not just the way languages are used in the community, but also the roles played by such factors as language ideology and perception in the choice of language codes by members of the community. Some languages are preferred because of the roles played by such languages. English, for instance, is rated high because of its economic implications in Nigeria. This is the main reason parents force themselves to communicate in English with their children. The idea is with English there is the hope to perform well in school and perhaps a promising future job which will secure the family from hunger.
6. Generally, the study has provided an insight into code-switching and multilingual practices within a community setting in Africa. This study could be used in the future in language planning in the complex multilingual and multi ethnic Nigeria situation.

### **7.3 Recommendation for Future Research**

Studying the sociolinguistic nature and multilingual practices in Ọrọ would need a longer time frame than what is available for a PhD study. Therefore, it will be of immense benefit for future research to be conducted to understand the depth of influence of traditional beliefs and ideologies on language choices and general language use in the community. This way, some, if not most of the questions which could not be addressed by this study would be understood. However, in view of the analysis which has shown a preference for NPE by almost all ages, I would recommend the development of NPE in the community since it features in almost all the domains. Apart from that, NPE unites the community beyond ethnic affiliations. If the recommendation also seems good to the Nigerian government, I would also suggest the adoption of NPE as a national language. However, this call is not the first as researchers eg. Uguru (2003) and others have made this observation decades ago on the reality of NPE to the Nigerian populace. In the face of suspicion, betrayal, hatred and silent ethnic war, Nigerians need a language that is “neutral” yet indigenous to every Nigerian.

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## Appendix

Table 35 below gives an overview of how the various languages used by the speakers are represented typographically in this thesis.

**Table 35: Languages and typographic style**

Language	Style
Ibibio	underlined
Orọ	Bold face
Anaang	Italicized and bold
NPE	italicised
Efik	Underlined and bold
English	plain

**Table 36: Abbreviations**

Abbreviation	Explanation
SS3	Senior Secondary 3
JSS3	Junior Secondary 3
FSLC	First School Leaving Certificate
0	No Formal Education
Yr 3	Third Year Undergraduate
OND	Ordinary National Diploma
BA	Bachelor of Arts Degree
MA	Master of Arts Degree
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy

**Table 37: Language Code Representation**

Character	Meaning
Orx	Orɔ
Efi	Efik
Ibb	Ibibio
Yrb	Yoruba
Hau	Hausa
Ebg	Ebughu
Enw	Enwang
Uda	Uda

## Sample Questionnaire for Demographic Survey of the Qr̩ Community

### 1. Personal Details of Participants

Name:

Gender:

Age:

Religion:

Occupation:

### 2. Linguistic Profile of Participants

#### a. Languages Spoken and Degree of Proficiency

Language	Not spoken	Spoken very well	Spoken fluently
Qr̩			
Efik			
Ibibio			
Pidgin English			
English			
Others			

#### b. Languages spoken among network

Mother's first language -----

Father's first language -----

Languages spoken with old relatives -----

Languages spoken with brothers and sisters -----

Is your spouse from your community? -----

If the answer to the above is no, what languages does s/he speak to you, your relatives and friends? ----

Languages spoken with spouse -----

Languages spoken with children -----

If different languages are spoken with children, give details -----

Where were you born? -----

Have you ever lived outside the community? -----

How many years did you live outside? -----

**c. Languages Spoken in Traditional Ceremonies:**

- Chieftaincy coronation.....
- Community meetings.....
- Pouring libation.....
- Settlement of dispute.....
- Others.....
- Where do you live?.....
- Where did you school? .....

**3. Linguistic Domain**

Domain of use	Orọ	Efik	Ibibio	Pidgin English	English
In the house					
Market					
Church					
Town meeting					
During fishing					
Hospital					
Office					
Out of the environment					
Primary school					

**4. Language Perception/Ideology in the Community**

Which language(s) do young men speak : Orọ -----Efik-----Ibibio-----  
 Pidgin-----English-----?

Are there problems choosing which language(s) to speak?

What steps are taken to overcome the problems?

What language(s) do young women speak?

Which language would you want to be developed in this community?

Which language do you want pupils in the primary schools to write?

## Orọ Sample Elan Transcribed File

file:///G:/Backup20150310/PhD work/elan280315/oro001.eaf/oro001.eaf  
Sunday, August 9, 2015 7:18 PM

speech-victor Udung Ukọ Local Government Area of Akwa Ibom  
State  
language code eng  
TC 00:00:00.008 - 00:00:02.627

speech-victor I am fifty-one year old  
language code eng  
TC 00:00:04.305 - 00:00:06.355

speech-victor fifty-one years old  
language code eng  
TC 00:00:08.150 - 00:00:10.276

speech-victor I am married with twenty-seven children  
language code eng  
TC 00:00:10.937 - 00:00:13.179

speech-victor ok ok  
language code eng  
TC 00:00:14.112 - 00:00:15.016

speech-victor so, please  
language code eng  
TC 00:00:16.297 - 00:00:17.673

speech-victor let us just introduce ourselves one after the other  
language code eng  
TC 00:00:18.000 - 00:00:20.679

speech-victor please  
language code eng  
TC 00:00:23.337 - 00:00:24.337

speech-victor this one is not recorded  
language code eng  
TC 00:00:25.382 - 00:00:26.154

speech-victor so whatever you say is ok  
language code eng

TC	00:00:26.193 - 00:00:27.607
speech- Uduak language code-uduak TC	my name is em eng 00:00:27.694 - 00:00:29.408
speech- Uduak language code-uduak TC	Uduak Effiong Afahaeme eng 00:00:30.469 - 00:00:33.199
speech- Uduak language code-uduak TC	from Udung Uko, Eyotai Oron eng 00:00:35.287 - 00:00:37.570
speech- Uduak language code-uduak TC	Eyotai in Udung Uko local government eng 00:00:37.836 - 00:00:39.836
speech- Uduak language code-uduak TC	I'm forty five years eng 00:00:44.628 - 00:00:46.283
speech-victor language code TC	how many wives and children eng 00:00:47.320 - 00:00:49.928
speech- Uduak language code-uduak TC	one wife and two children eng 00:00:50.331 - 00:00:51.868
speech-victor language code TC	you are still growing in the business eng 00:00:54.104 - 00:00:55.729
speech-Abia language code-Abia TC	I'm Henshaw Abia eng 00:00:56.018 - 00:00:57.271
speech-Abia language code-Abia TC	Member of Abia eng 00:00:58.565 - 00:00:59.490

speech-Abia language code-Abia TC	From Okobocho Ebughu in Mbo Local Government eng 00:01:00.890 - 00:01:03.981
speech-Abia language code-Abia TC	I'm single, forty one years old eng 00:01:06.084 - 00:01:10.031
speech-Abia language code-Abia TC	Married with only one boy eng 00:01:11.543 - 00:01:16.862
speech-Abia language code-Abia TC	For now eng 00:01:18.168 - 00:01:18.975
speech-victor language code TC	it could be hundred eng 00:01:21.535 - 00:01:22.726
speech-victor language code TC	John eng 00:01:25.977 - 00:01:27.320
speech-Esu language code-Esu TC	My name is John, John Wave Esu eng 00:01:27.262 - 00:01:29.453
speech-Esu of language code-Esu TC	From Urue Offong Oruko Local Government, a native eng 00:01:30.062 - 00:01:32.300
speech-Esu language code-Esu TC	Oyubia eng 00:01:32.300 - 00:01:33.564
speech-Esu language code-Esu TC	I'm married with three wives and five children eng 00:01:34.259 - 00:01:38.731

speech- Uduak language code-uduak TC	thats good thats good eng 00:01:40.203 - 00:01:41.252
speech-victor language code TC	a very good profile eng 00:01:40.585 - 00:01:41.939
speech-Edem language code-Edem TC	I'm prince Victor Okon Edem eng 00:01:41.806 - 00:01:43.509
speech-Edem language code-Edem TC	From urue Offong/ Oruko Local Government eng 00:01:43.915 - 00:01:45.100
speech-Edem language code-Edem TC	I'm ninety-four years old eng 00:01:45.162 - 00:01:47.783
speech-victor language code free translation TC	usukere victor edem bassey orx are you no longer victor edem bassey? 00:01:47.784 - 00:01:49.270
speech-Edem language code-Edem TC	No eng 00:01:49.046 - 00:01:50.278
speech-Esu language code-Esu free translation-Esu TC	Ọlụọñọ ididoghọ ki ikere Prince orx eng he wants to be called Prince now 00:01:50.675 - 00:01:51.678
speech-Edem language code-Edem TC	married with five wives eng 00:01:51.950 - 00:01:53.640
speech-Edem language code-Edem TC	Then eighteen children eng 00:01:53.987 - 00:01:55.237

speech-Esu language code-Esu TC	Ok aka indomie eng 00:01:57.065 - 00:01:58.243
speech-Toto language code-Toto TC	I am Emmanuel Toto eng 00:01:58.890 - 00:02:01.181
speech-victor language code free translation TC	Tooto pcm tooto 00:02:02.143 - 00:02:03.110
speech-Esu language code-Esu TC	Tooto orx 00:02:02.332 - 00:02:03.332
speech-Toto language code-Toto TC	From Utu Udim Ebughu eng 00:02:05.096 - 00:02:06.881
speech-Toto language code-Toto TC	In Mbo Local Government eng 00:02:07.821 - 00:02:09.215
speech-Toto language code-Toto TC	A simple man eng 00:02:10.434 - 00:02:11.634
speech-Toto language code-Toto TC	And eng 00:02:13.940 - 00:02:14.696
speech-Toto language code-Toto TC	About to marry eng 00:02:15.512 - 00:02:16.618
speech-Esu language code-Esu TC	no children outside? eng 00:02:17.100 - 00:02:17.975

speech-Esu language code-Esu TC	No no outside arrangement? eng 00:02:20.403 - 00:02:21.900
speech-Toto language code-Toto TC	because I don't want to get any out of wedlock eng 00:02:20.850 - 00:02:23.896
speech-Esu language code-Esu free translation-Esu TC	Eti ima ha ha ha ha orx lovely father 00:02:25.790 - 00:02:27.336
speech-Edem language code-Edem free translation-Edem TC	Ubọk onu otu fi akagha orx Your hand is becoming too strong 00:02:35.212 - 00:02:36.375
speech-Esu language code-Esu TC	Code switching eng 00:02:35.940 - 00:02:36.918
speech-Edem language code-Edem free translation-Edem TC	Sss, ọnluoñọ nsiñi mmatañ ofo o orx Look, I don't want your English here 00:02:38.037 - 00:02:39.421
speech-Esu language code-Esu free translation-Esu TC	Nkọ ndoghọ fi ke emem orx I said it in peace 00:02:38.893 - 00:02:40.100
speech-Edem language code-Edem free translation-Edem TC	Letere osukpo orx Not known 00:02:40.334 - 00:02:41.290
speech-Edem language code-Edem free translation-Edem TC	nkundide nsọ ntọ onyi ifọ orx Am I supposed to kill him? 00:02:44.221 - 00:02:45.637

speech-Edem language code-Edem free translation-Edem TC	Two three eng two three 00:02:49.156 - 00:02:49.961
speech-Esu language code-Esu TC	two three eng 00:02:49.200 - 00:02:49.959
speech-Esu language code-Esu TC	Cy eng 00:03:03.003 - 00:03:03.753
speech-Toto language code-Toto free translation-Toto TC	Ma odu ọtọ? orx a kind of will you play again? 00:03:06.046 - 00:03:07.250
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Onwi eluṅṅo ono ono orx we don't want that 00:03:07.909 - 00:03:09.194
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Onwi eluṅṅo nsiṅgi onye ono orx we don't want that language here 00:03:09.234 - 00:03:11.059
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Senu seni dighi nne? orx how is it Nne 00:03:11.193 - 00:03:12.318
speech-Abia language code-Abia TC	Hello eng 00:03:13.743 - 00:03:14.546
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia back? TC	Onda ọkọ ko office lalagha dinyong? orx eng O boy you have greeted your office, why not come back? 00:03:15.446 - 00:03:18.109

speech-victor language code TC	is it on? eng 00:03:20.530 - 00:03:21.519
speech-Esu language code-Esu free translation-Esu TC	Onu on orx it is on 00:03:21.268 - 00:03:22.365
speech-victor language code free translation TC	onye mo o? orx how about this? 00:03:21.635 - 00:03:22.469
speech-victor language code free translation TC	onye mo o orx how about this? 00:03:22.602 - 00:03:23.436
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Ave enye ebg hello there 00:03:23.459 - 00:03:24.412
speech-Esu language code-Esu free translation-Esu TC	Mic obono omo eng orx these are microphones 00:03:24.278 - 00:03:25.421
speech-victor language code free translation TC	onye mu esenu on now orx eng this one is not yet on now 00:03:25.977 - 00:03:27.176
speech-Edem language code-Edem free translation-Edem TC	Onwi ese onwi ese onwi ese orx they have not 00:03:26.062 - 00:03:27.557
speech-victor language code TC	that is on, ok eng 00:03:27.320 - 00:03:28.392

speech-Edem language code-Edem free translation-Edem TC	Onwi ese edio onye n ke ekang o orx this one has not yet been put on 00:03:28.171 - 00:03:29.293
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Ave e? ebg where are you? 00:03:30.228 - 00:03:31.787
speech-Esu language code-Esu free translation-Esu TC	Ave e ebg where are you? 00:03:30.712 - 00:03:31.775
speech- Uduak language code-uduak free translation-Uduak TC	avee orx hey there 00:03:30.725 - 00:03:31.769
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Di ise di ise ebg wait first 00:03:33.234 - 00:03:34.642
speech-Abia onwi? language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Mbei phone omi nkuo fi afe asotang nsingi ma onun ebg eng I called you with my phone and you are now talking to another person? 00:03:34.875 - 00:03:37.190
speech-Toto TC	Laughs 00:03:38.664 - 00:03:39.664
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Mmọ katang mmọ kọdọghọ onwi ọkọ ebg you are telling someone that 00:03:41.941 - 00:03:43.475
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia	Enom use omọkọdọñọ ene uto ono mo ebg that is not the dress you wore to work

TC	00:03:43.550 - 00:03:45.668
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Noño onwi ono non? ebg who is the person? 00:03:45.712 - 00:03:47.593
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Afu abak ku ufok? ebg are you in the house? 00:03:54.781 - 00:03:56.121
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia clothes? TC	nsi n̄kpọ okotibe edetuak aka se edeso ọkpuhọ ọfọn̄? ebg what happened that you had to change your work clothes? 00:03:56.215 - 00:03:58.503
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Nsi n̄kpọ otibe ede ọkpuhọ ọfọn̄? ebg what happened that you changed your clothes? 00:04:00.493 - 00:04:01.637
speech-Esu language code-Esu free translation-Esu TC	Skipper bei nọ onyi orx Skipper give it to him 00:04:04.521 - 00:04:05.696
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Nsi n̄kpọ eketibe nsikpọ eketibe ede ọkpuhọ ọfọn̄? ebg what happened for you to change to clothes? 00:04:05.996 - 00:04:07.817
speech- Uduak language code-uduak free translation-Uduak TC	ndoghọ kọdiok eti eti ini onu ofu oku onyi ku phone on. orx eng I said it is very bad when you called him on phone 00:04:10.592 - 00:04:13.150
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Ok ok ekenong edisuon̄o ku udue ebg Its alright, did they offload it in the market? 00:04:13.112 - 00:04:15.759

speech- Uduak language code-uduak free translation-Uduak TC	ekesughu nsiñi mom ama ana si meet orx eng We have an agreement here already 00:04:14.190 - 00:04:16.479
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Nda ne mbid fi mbid, ne mbid fi mbid ebg my friend let me ask you a question 00:04:19.434 - 00:04:21.476
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Mbid fi mbid ebg ask you a question 00:04:21.531 - 00:04:22.509
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Mbọk mbọk mbọk mbọk oyeke mi Stewalt ebg please my brother Stewalt 00:04:23.931 - 00:04:27.318
speech-Abia no language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Mbọk kunuñ ube mi udio se nsiñi mmatan nu ndint ang ebg don't put me there because I am going to speak English now 00:04:27.421 - 00:04:30.190
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Mansọ mansọ nku fi orx I will call you back 00:04:31.762 - 00:04:33.730
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	eh he n orx alright 00:04:33.806 - 00:04:34.631
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Toto, se edine dighi iluṅṅo nkpo amana itoḥo inwōng ulagha n? orx Toto, how do we get something to drink now? 00:04:34.784 - 00:04:38.256

speech-Toto language code-Toto free translation-Toto TC	yes	E e eh orx 00:04:35.281 - 00:04:35.840
speech-Toto language code-Toto free translation-Toto TC		Ata nnenen n̄kpọ onon, Amba orx that is the right thing, Amba 00:04:38.518 - 00:04:40.120
speech-victor language code free translation TC		e e e h orx yes 00:04:40.519 - 00:04:41.337
speech-Toto language code-Toto free translation-Toto TC		Ekeñwōng combine edenne udiọk udiọk n̄kpọ o orx eng people drink combine to do bad things 00:04:41.000 - 00:04:42.743
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC		Eke eñwọng combine ede ene utọ nkpọ omo orx eng we drink combine to do this kind of thing 00:04:41.840 - 00:04:44.309
speech- Uduak language code-uduak free translation-Uduak TC		amana a amana beer abak kisong orx eng there should have been beer on ground 00:04:43.106 - 00:04:46.166
speech- Uduak language code-uduak free translation-Uduak TC		si ikka ita n̄kpọ orx to be used in chewing meat 00:04:46.681 - 00:04:48.168
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC		Di ka li beer orx eng go and buy beer 00:04:49.611 - 00:04:50.611
speech-victor language code free translation		nda etim mmoñyi beer mo mu orx friend, etim has beer here

TC	00:04:50.790 - 00:04:52.442
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	Se se se ni ntang mmọ mmọ ki nkap ndong o orx I have said it before I am going to spoil this thing 00:04:52.431 - 00:04:56.103
speech- Uduak language code-uduak free translation-Uduak TC	nda Eti orx Eti my friend 0:04:57.318 - 00:04:58.252
speech- Uduak language code-uduak free translation-Uduak TC	nda Abasi ebei fi odi e m orx its God that has brought you now 00:04:58.986 - 00:05:00.480
speech- Uduak language code-uduak free translation-Uduak TC	Toto nda di katou fridge ofu o m orx eng Toto, go and touch your fridge 00:05:01.048 - 00:05:03.631
speech-Toto language code-Toto free translation-Toto TC	Ka ki fridge suonọ so ono okodio di orx eng open the fridge and bring whatever is inside 00:05:03.481 - 00:05:05.590
speech- Uduak language code-uduak free translation-Uduak TC	ka tou fridge suonọ mmi en di orx, eng go and touch the fridge and bring out the drinks 00:05:03.805 - 00:05:06.736
speech-Abia language code-Abia free translation-Abia TC	So nu dighi ote? orx how is it friend 00:05:04.550 - 00:05:05.746
speech-Toto language code-Toto free translation-Toto TC	Eti orx Eti 00:05:10.256 - 00:05:11.409

speech-Abia  
language code-Abia  
free translation-Abia  
TC

Nkpọ onye omobono omo mmọ me film?  
orx  
these things here are they filming?  
00:05:11.603 - 00:05:13.329

speech- Uduak  
language code-uduak  
free translation-Uduak  
TC

Eti nda oku efu ekeboghọ umumai ku saturday?  
orx eng  
Eti, I am is true you were beaten up on Saturday?  
00:05:13.754 - 00:05:17.947

speech- Uduak  
language code-uduak  
free translation-Uduak  
TC

nda, Abasi anyanga mi o Abasi afak ko mi mma nnu  
udiok onwi o  
orx  
Friend, God has helped me, God knows I am not a bad  
person  
00:05:23.859 - 00:05:28.473

speech- Uduak  
language code-uduak  
free translation-Uduak  
TC

nda, omonu ami idiwowo inyoni  
orx  
Friend, it was just as I stepped out  
00:05:28.473 - 00:05:32.593

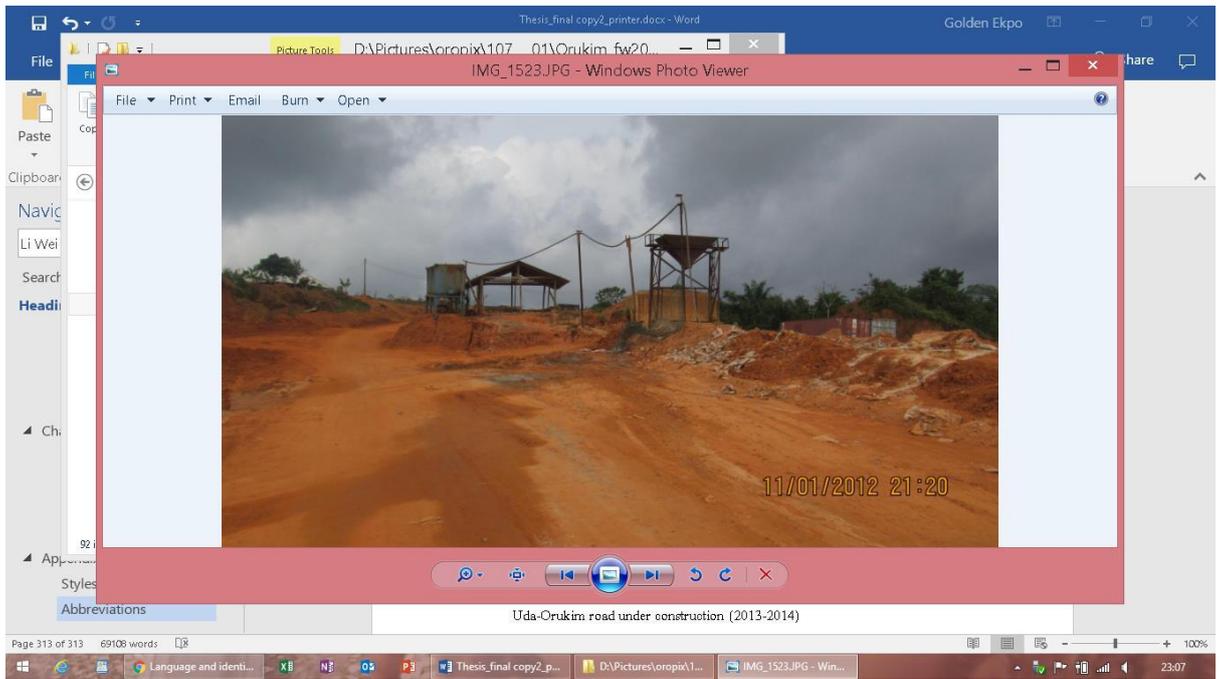


Figure 4 Qro Community (Uda-Orukim road 2013-2014)

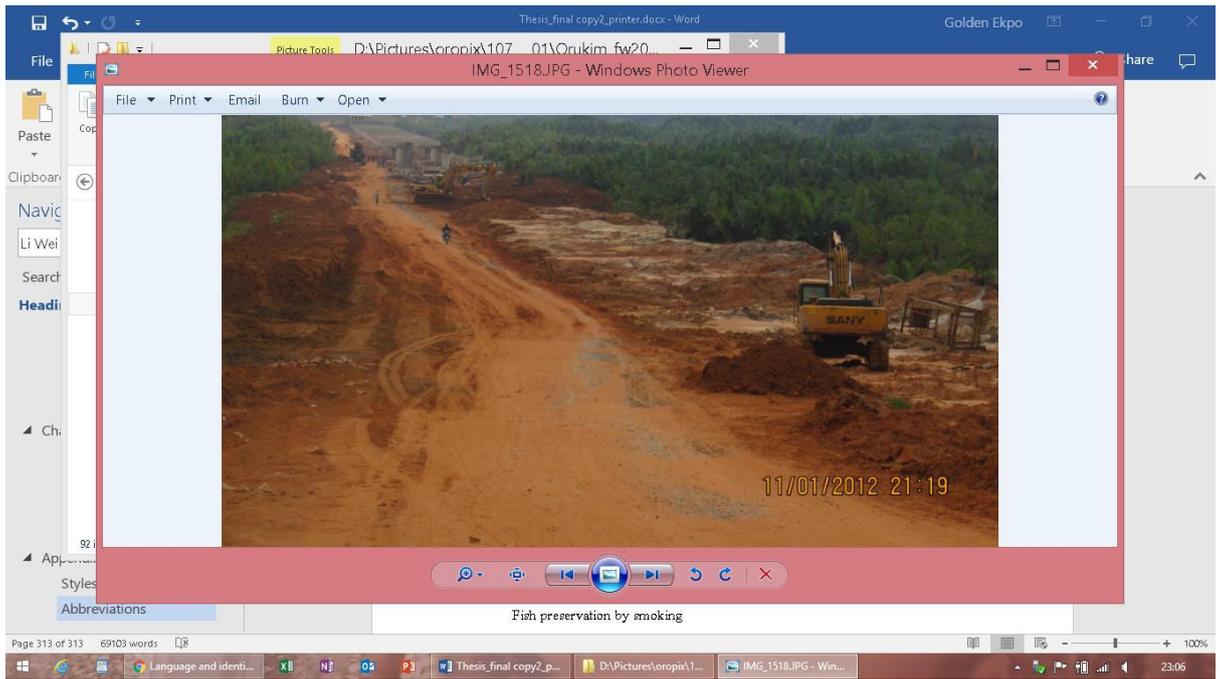


Figure 5 Qro Community Road

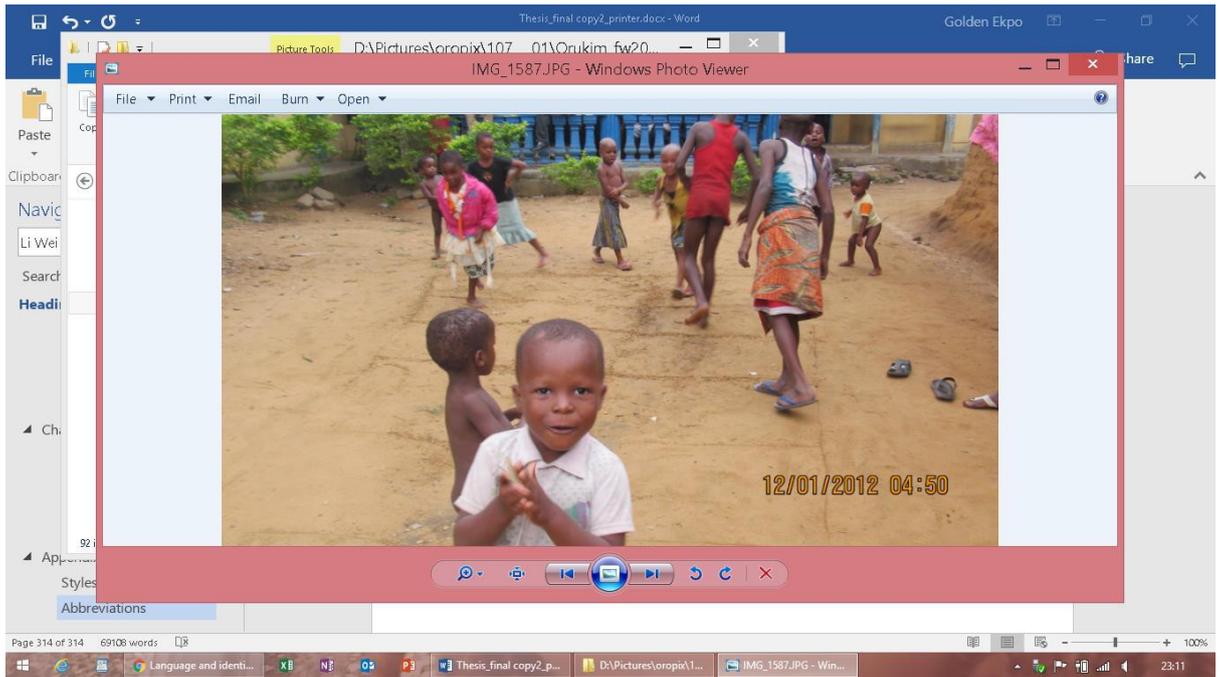


Figure 6 Children playing (square) from where they learn to express the type of building structure they have in mind.

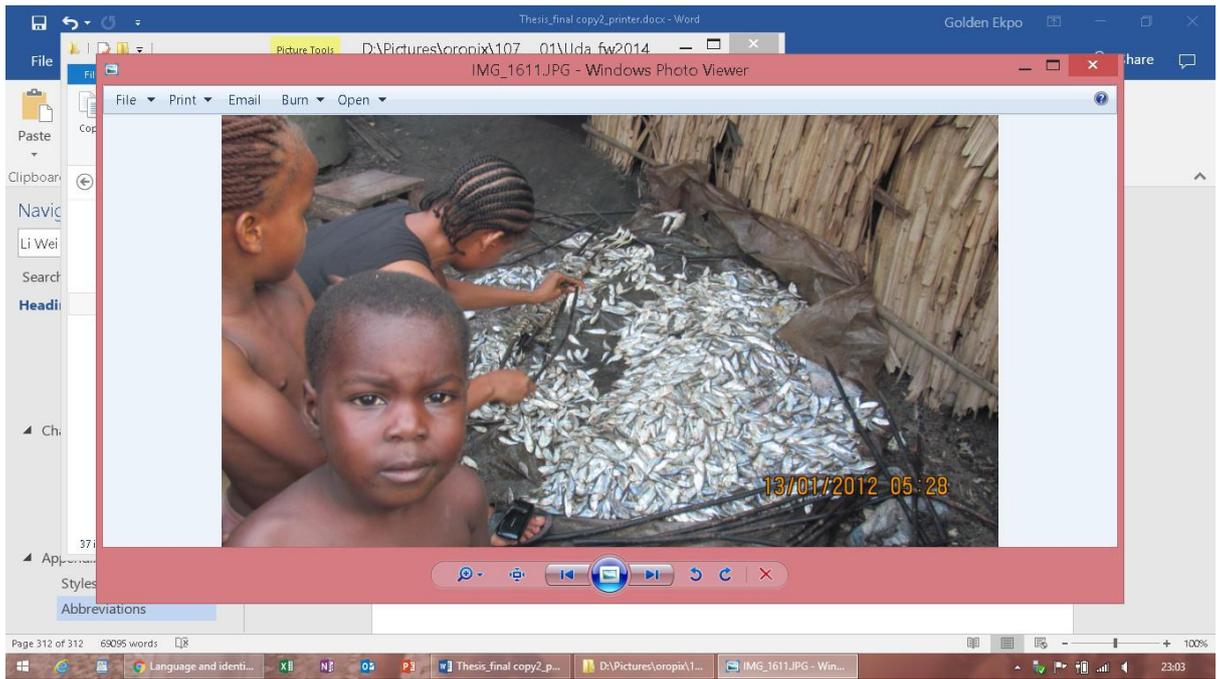


Figure 7 Fish Pinning in the Q̄o Community

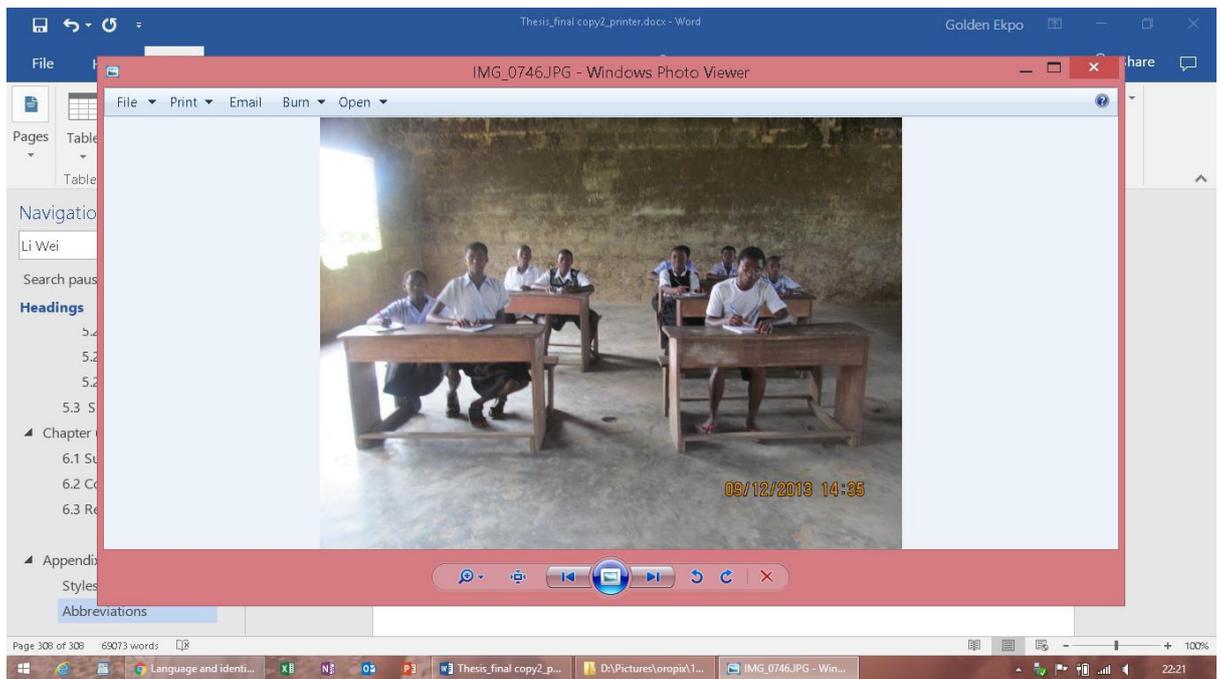


Figure 8 Students Learning in Secondary School Eweme



Figure 9 A Sign Post of the National Youth Council Oro



Figure 10 A Wrestling Competition in Udung Uko

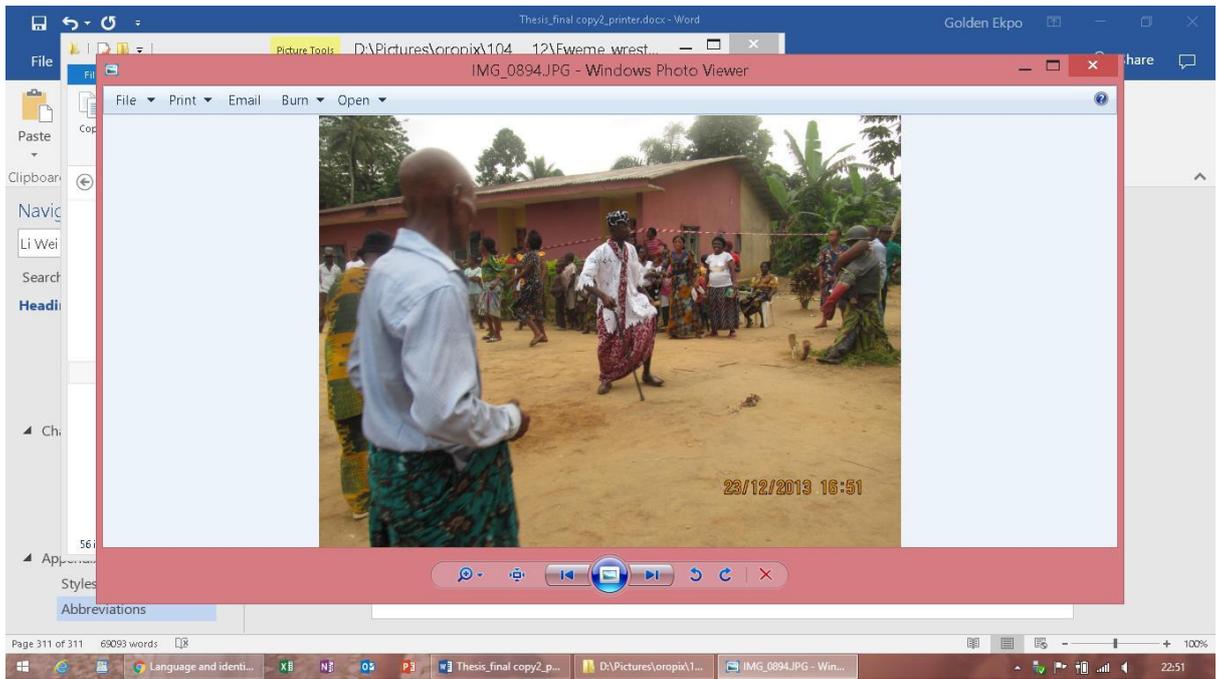


Figure 11 A Wrestling Competition in Eweme



Figure 12 Chieftaincy Coronation and Presentation of Staff of Office.



Figure 13 A Fire- bearing Masquerade in Oṛo



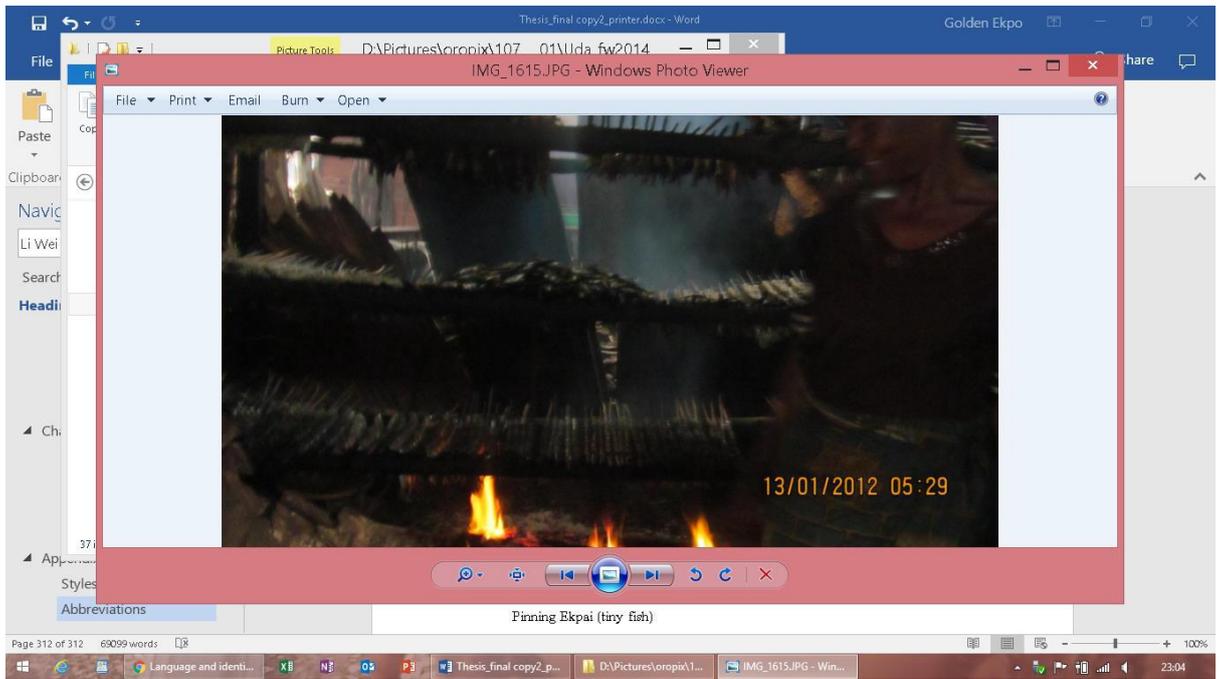


Figure 14 Fish Preservation by Smoking in Ọrọ

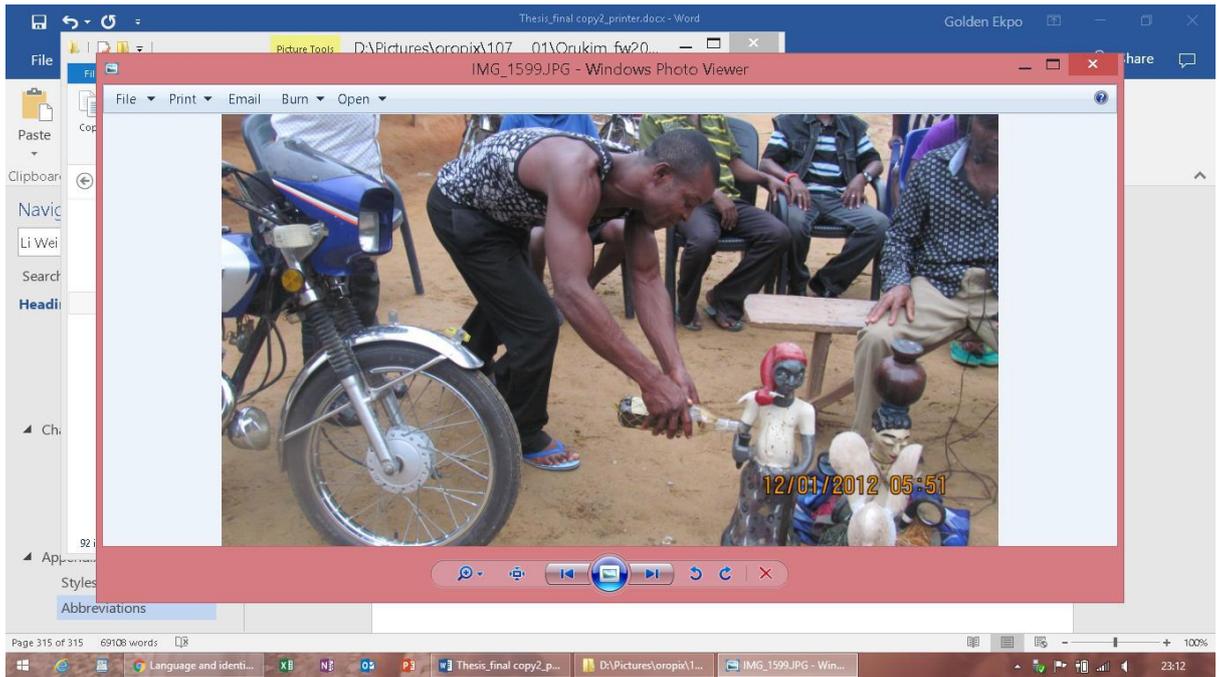


Figure 15 Pouring of Libation to the Ancestral Spirits

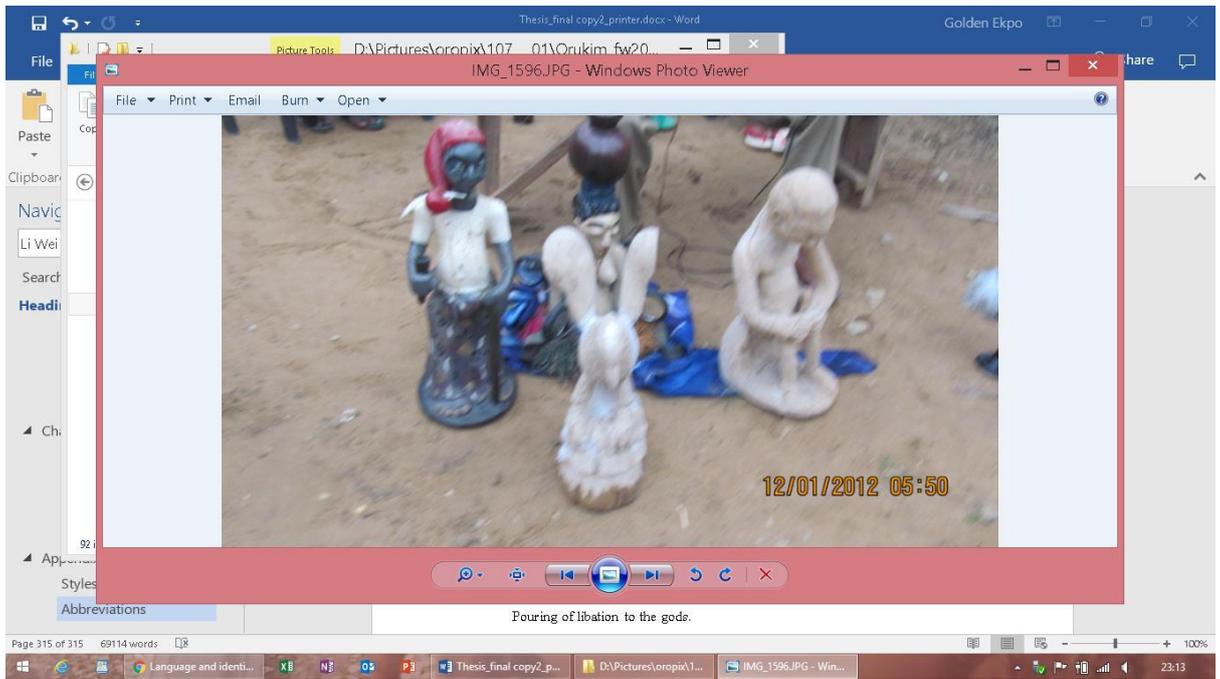


Figure 16 Ancestral Spirits